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Faunal Analysis and Comparative Study of Mont Repose Plantation

Misty Y. Dunn

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FAUNAL ANALYSIS AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF

MONT REPOSE PLANTATION

by

MISTY Y. DUNN

(Under the Direction of Sue M. Moore)

ABSTRACT

Over the past several years excavations have been underway within a structure at the Mont Repose plantation site located near Coosawhatchie, South Carolina. This structure has yielded an array of artifacts including numerous faunal remains. Species recovered thus far include domestic species such as cow, pig, and chicken. The wild species represented within the collection include deer, opossum, raccoon, fish, bird, turtle, and alligator. By comparing the findings from the Mont Repose structure with other coastal plantation sites, it is suggested that conclusions can be drawn about who was occupying the structure. Also, it may be possible to determine the purpose of the structure and what led to its final demise. Understanding how the faunal remains relate to the people who occupied and subsisted at this site can yield significant information regarding 18th and 19th century coastal plantation food habits and ways of life.

INDEX WORDS: Faunal Analysis, Coastal Rice Plantation, Rice, Slaves, Slavery, Kitchen, Mont Repose, Gillison, Coosawhatchie, South Carolina

FAUNAL ANALYSIS AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
MONT REPOSE PLANTATION

by

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B.A., Georgia Southern University, 2006

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Georgia Southern University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my son, Gage Dunn, who is at the very core of my world. So often he has patiently allowed mommy to research, read, study, and write. It is for him that I strive to improve myself and maintain the determination to inspire him to learn and be as happy and successful as possible in life.

I also dedicate this thesis in memory of my mother, Kim Young, and my great-grandmother, Hazel Middlebrooks, who helped to instill within me the power of knowledge.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades archaeologists have become more interested in the lifestyle, culture, and diet of plantation owners and the slaves that worked on the many historic Southern plantations during the 18th and 19th centuries. Some of this information comes from records that planters and overseers kept, as well as ethnographies from the slaves themselves. The difficulty in using this data is encountered when records are incomplete or inaccurate, planters, slaves and their descendents have trouble remembering some of the information correctly, or the data is simply missing due to a multitude of reasons. It is because of these issues that archaeologists have decided to turn to evidence found at the site locations, particularly the artifacts and structural remnants resting beneath the root layer.

By examining the faunal remains from known or probable planter, overseer, and slave dwellings, archaeologists can now paint a more vivid picture of what slaves, as well as planters and overseers, were eating. For some sites with little written documentation or maps to indicate the location of structures, it can be helpful to look at the faunal remains to determine who resided where. Of course as research regarding these issues continues, and as more data becomes available archaeologists are better able to make the distinctions between slave, planter and overseer dwellings. Some archaeologists have turned to examining human skeletal remains, and plant materials that are also sometimes left behind (Singleton, 1985, p. 167). Faunal analysis has been conducted alongside further research at several Southern and Coastal Plantation sites. The faunal analysis from at least three Coastal Plantation sites will be

compared to the findings from the Mont Repose Plantation located in Coosawhatchie, South Carolina.

Written documentation such as the planters' daybooks, accounting records, and journals are useful sources of information when researching goods and items that were purchased for plantations. One would hope to be able to turn to these documents to learn more about dietary practices especially when considering domestic animal species, however when questioning non-domestic species John Solomon Otto, who excavated Cannon's Point at St. Simons Island, Georgia, found that "planters' daybooks and journals rarely recorded wild foods, though there are monotonous references to pork and corn" (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 288). Assumingly wild foods were not recorded because they would not necessarily contribute to cash income in the way domestic species would. Also,

"...differences between white and black diets were not recorded in detail. Surprisingly, more is known about the slave diet than that of white Southerners" (Hilliard, 1972, p. 55).

There exist some written evidence of what Southerners were eating in the journals of travelers who visited the plantations. European travelers in particular were "impressed with the abundance of game and fish on Southern tables" going so far as to conclude that the domestic species such as pigs and cattle were rivaled by wild game when it came to which was used most for food (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 288).

The archaeologists conducting the faunal analysis and research at each Coastal Plantation pointed out biases they felt could have contributed to skewed or incorrect data.

Some of the biases discussed include large screen size, small faunal sample size, preparation and preservation methods of the meat, treatment of the bones once deposited into the soil such as trampling from foot traffic, and calculation methods used including biomass, total fragment count, relative weight of fragments, and minimum number of individuals (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 319; Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 309-310; Singleton, 1985, pp. 168-169). While examining some of the faunal remains from Cannon's Point, Otto found that it was important to consider trampling from foot traffic could cause further fragmentation, thus possibly making them less likely to survive to current day. The heavy fragmentation could also make the remains less identifiable, further skewing the data (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 308-309). Furthermore, alterations in landscape such as earthmoving activities as well as agricultural use can contribute to skewed data by disturbing features and displacing artifacts. Basically these various cultural and natural processes can add to the condition of faunal remains and even their presence, or lack thereof all together (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 309; Singleton, 1985, pp. 168-169).

In reference to coastal plantation sites excavated at St. Simons Island, Georgia, Sue Moore points out that "it is suspected that screen size may have seriously affected the results from Sinclair, Pike's Bluff, and Jones. Domestic species, with larger bones, may well be overrepresented in the samples of these sites" (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 318). The positive note at least within the data from these sites is that the "possible biases should affect each group separately in the same manner" (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 318). It was noted that smaller artifacts such as fish scales may have slipped through the larger size screens, thus lowering the number of fish accounted for (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 113, 162, 227). If this is the case, then it can be

assumed that species with larger bones will be better represented because more of their bones will be retrieved during the screening process.

Many of these sites, such as the Sinclair site, suffered from a small sample size as it relates to the slave context which may have affected the number of species identified (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 321). Otto also cautioned that faunal sample sizes are often not large enough, stating that “At Cannon’s Point, the percentages of non-domestic animals at the three sites reflects the class hierarchy, but the samples of individuals may not be large enough to have predictive value” (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 358). In reference to the preparation and preservation methods of the meat, those that underwent the preservation process left behind fewer bones. For example, the brining process tended to discourage bone because “most salt pork should be either deboned or smoked” (Singleton, 1985, p. 169). Also, depending on the cut of meat, fewer bones may have been present. It is thought that fresh meat, which slaves were most likely given only periodically, would leave behind more faunal evidence (Singleton 1985, p. 169; Otto 1975, p. 293). It is also important to remember that slaves were generally given specific, less desirable cuts of meat including the bacon or side meat, which typically left fewer identifiable bones or any other remains (Singleton 1985, p. 169).

Archaeologists have used a number of methods to calculate the identifiable bones found at a site. The various methods include quantifying bone count, bone weight, minimum number of individuals, and biomass. Typically more than one of these methods is employed for a complete and more accurate analysis. Depending on which method is used, the data can sometimes differ even if only slightly and therefore leading to varying results. Methods such as

bone count and bone weight can serve a purpose as far as quantifying the magnitude of how much bone is present. However, bone count can vary extremely depending on post mortem activity, distribution of the fragments throughout the site, and elements the bones have been exposed to post deposition into the ground. Elements include but are not limited to fire, scavenging animals, and earthmoving activities. Bone weight calculations exhibit some of the same issues as bone count but also add factors such as mineralization, causing such calculations to be skewed (Reitz & Scarry, 1985, pp. 16-17).

Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI)

Calculating the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) present employs a basic principle of pairing elements. Mammals are symmetrical, as they naturally possess the same bone on each side of the body. Therefore, if six right femurs are observed, then it can be safely calculated that at least six individuals are present in the assemblage. Issues to be considered when utilizing MNI include over emphasis of small mammals and assumption that the entire carcass is present (Reitz & Scarry, 1985, pp. 16-17). MNI is thought by some to be best used for intersite comparison but tends to leave out the valuable information regarding the quantity or quality of the nutrients each animal contributed (Singleton, 1985, p. 168). However others state that “bone weight of each group maybe a more realistic indicator of the actual dietary role of more domestic animals...” as compared to using MNI or relative frequency of fragments (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 310).

Biomass

Biomass is a method of calculating the amount of meat a particular species would yield. The formula employs differing figures based on the species in question (Hacker, 1999, pp. 147-148). Utilizing biomass calculations has become fairly common place for archaeologists examining faunal remains. Moore notes that “when biomass calculations were made for Otto’s data, the differences in planter, overseer, and slave use of domestic and non-domestic animals narrowed somewhat” and concluded that “biomass is therefore, a more reliable method of determining the actual species exploitation on a site” (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 319).

Bone count, bone weight, MNI, and biomass are just a few examples of the various methods archaeologists have used to quantify faunal remains and the differing opinions as to which method is better. Of course it also depends on what aspect is being researched regarding the remains as to which method works best.

When contemplating which sites belonged to planters, overseers, or slaves one can look at various forms of documents to see what was rationed to each. From what is known about the foods that slaves were allotted, it typically included “some combination of pork, beef, cornmeal, seasonal vegetables, corn bread, sweet potatoes, onions, molasses, rice, salt, and pumpkins” which could be rationed daily or weekly (Singleton, 1985, p. 166). There is, however, no agreed upon standard for the quantity of food that was provided to each slave family (Singleton, 1985, p. 166). Slaves at the Cannon’s Point site in particular were rationed maize, saltfish and sometimes salt beef, with no bacon (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 291). Otto also found that “most southern planters supplied their slaves with weekly rations of corn and meat... Seasonal

vegetables, fruit, and even commercial food supplements such as molasses, salt, and coffee could be added to the basic ration” (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 291). Of course the planters, or plantation owners, would have top choice of “plantation produce and livestock, but overseers and slaves had only limited access to these food sources because law and custom protected the planter’s monopoly” (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 289). Although white overseers in the south were usually given corn and meat rations from the planter, at Cannon’s Point “during the period 1846-1853 when overseer accounts were available, the overseers appear to have purchased their own corn and meat” (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 290). This information is important because it gives us insight into what each group of people was eating and how overseers and slaves may have been required to supplement their diets with wild resources.

Planters typically received the most desirable cuts of meat as “joints were trimmed to shape, and the spine, ribs, and tenderloin were separated from the abdominal walls. Planters preferred such cuts as the hams, shoulders, and tenderloin” (Hilliard 1969: 45 as cited in Otto 1975: 296). On one Coastal plantation, it was common for the hindquarters of an animal to be reserved for the planter’s family, while the less desirable cuts such as the “forequarters and the offal – the heads, necks, legs, tails, and the viscera” were given to slaves (Ball 1859: 137-138 as cited in Otto 1975: 296). The planter’s home at the Cannon’s Point site was occupied by the Couper family beginning in 1794 and had a detached kitchen area where the slaves performed duties that included food preparation as well as laundry services (Ball 1859: 112 as cited in Otto 1975: 29, 298). It is noteworthy that “North of the kitchen, on the edge of the salt marsh, the slaves deposited oyster shells, bones, fish scales, offal, broken ceramics, and glassware, and the ashes from the kitchen” (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 298). According to these statements, finding faunal

remains from more desirable parts of an animal's body, perhaps in conjunction with ceramic and glass artifacts, can direct us in determining which sites were most likely occupied by a planter and his family versus overseer and slave dwellings.

Based on what has been found in the documentation about what slaves received in their allotments, it appears that their diet would need to be supplemented in order to fulfill their dietary needs. In some instances slaves and overseers relied on fish, game, and wild plants more heavily than the planter due to necessity (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 306). While examining the records from Cannon's Point, Otto found that no commercial meat was purchased for the plantation slaves until 1852, and even then only bacon sides were purchased (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 293). Otto concluded that "Protein for slave consumption was either raised on the plantation, or slaves had to provide most of their own protein by keeping domestic animals, hunting, and fishing" (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 293). Slaves were often allowed to raise domestic animals such as pigs, rabbits, and chickens (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 294). Hogs were the preferred domestic species for slaves because they require less attention than other types of animals and are relatively hearty, subsisting on almost anything available such as acorns and human feces (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 294). Although some slaves raised their own animals, Singleton points out that they continued to contribute to their diet by hunting and fishing and "slaves living on the estuarine plantations used far more fish than did slaves living outside that area..." (Singleton, 1985, p. 170).

While investigating whether a particular site was occupied by planter, overseer, or slaves, examining the faunal remains recovered can give valuable insight. The question posed

by many archaeologists is whether or not more domestic versus non-domestic species will be found at each type of site and how it relates to status. Both domestic and non-domestic species have been found at all three site types, therefore the focus is placed on quantity and quality of the species recovered.

Examining the various Southern and Coastal plantation sites gives way to a pattern in the faunal remains found in and near the dwellings and kitchens of each group of people. Otto concluded that there was more of a similarity between slaves and white overseers than between the planters and white overseers (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 356). When examining what types of animals each of them consumed, Otto calculated the results in the form of MNI, frequency of identifiable fragments, and relative weight of identifiable bone fragments (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 308-310). He surmised that “for both slaves and overseers, large domestic animals probably provided most of the meat consumed in a year; wild mammals, terrapins, and fish were small but steady sources of protein” (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 356-357). Otto concluded that non-domestic animals appeared in higher quantities at the planter’s site, with a slight decrease in numbers at the slave and overseer sites with the most significant difference shown in the distribution of fish and terrapins (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 361). Based on the types of animals found, Otto’s data from Cannon’s Point shows that opossum, raccoons, rabbits, and wood rats were present at slave, overseer, and planter sites (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 355). Among the species of animals found only at the planter’s kitchen site were alligators, deer and marine turtles (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 355).

The sites Pike's Bluff, Sinclair, and Jones Creek Settlement, located at St. Simon's Island, Georgia and excavated by Sue Moore are excellent examples of Coastal plantation sites that had slave, overseer, and planter dwellings. These properties were inhabited by slaves beginning around 1793 (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 71). Pike's Bluff, a small planter dwelling, was found to have the largest quantity of domestic species within these three sites, which rivals the findings found at the Cannon's Point planter site (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 114, 320). Sinclair was an upper class planter site with a probable domestic slave cabin which overall showed a majority of domestic species (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 114, 152, 161-162). Identifiable faunal remains from domestic species were represented at the planter site by 48.3% and at the slave site by 61.9% using MNI calculations (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 161). The slave settlement at Jones Creek, constructed in 1801 shows a majority of domestic species represented with 48.7% of total biomass being attributed to this group, 36.1% as non-domestic, and 15.1% as unidentifiable (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 163, 226). Overall, domestic species are the best represented in the samples from these three sites, with 53.5% to 64.8% of the total biomass of identifiable remains being placed in this category (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 319).

At the Cannon's Point plantation site, Otto's data show that when using MNI, non-domestic species were represented as 82.4% from slave dwellings, 87.8% from overseer sites, and 90.1% from the planter site. Domestic species were represented as 17.6% from slave dwellings, 12.2% from overseer sites, and 9.9% from the planter site (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 308). Basically a larger quantity of non-domestic animals was found at the planter's kitchen site with decreasing numbers found at the overseer and slave sites (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 308). He also notes that "a lower percentage of non-domestic animals could indicate the presence of farmers

or overseers with a small slave force..." and "on sites occupied by slaves, a still lower percentage of non-domestic animals could be expected" because it is thought that agricultural duties would have given the slaves less time to hunt and gather food for themselves (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 359).

The Roupelmond Plantation site, previously an indigo, rice, and finally a cotton plantation, is located in Beaufort County, South Carolina. Samuel Prioleau began cultivating wetland rice in northern Beaufort County around 1730 and according to remnants of slave dwellings, employed their skills. Excavations by Debi Hacker and Michael Trinkley revealed faunal remains at the plantation main house as well as the slave settlement. Overall, 209 fragments were recovered from the planter's house and 3,530 were found at the slave settlement. The slave settlement revealed a higher concentration of wild fauna such as turkey, raccoon, opossum, rabbit, and drum, while the site of the planter's main house yielded only cow, pig, bird, deer, and sheep. For these remains, calculations were made for MNI, bone count and weight, and biomass (Hacker, 1999, pp. 32, 41, 153).

Excavations of the slave cabins at the Stafford Plantation at Cumberland Island, Georgia, operating from 1800 to 1860s, found domestic animals to be represented by 31% of identifiable individuals and wild fauna making up 69% (Ehrenhard and Bullard 1981 as cited in Singleton 1985: 172). Among the domestic species found were cow, pig, and goat with wild fauna being from deer, raccoon, and fish (Singleton, 1985, p. 172).

An outbuilding/slave cabin at the Kings Bay Plantation located in Camden County, Georgia was found to have 25% of domestic species with the rest being mostly estuarine fishes

with some wild mammals which includes deer (Reitz 1978 as cited in Singleton 1985: 173). Cow and pig were the most notable domestic species found at the outbuilding/slave cabin. A probable slave cabin was also excavated and shows 23% MNI belonging to domestic species. Again, estuarine species represent most of the 53% of wild fauna. The planter's kitchen only revealed an MNI of 13% belonging to domestic species. Estuarine species comprised 40%, wild mammals 13%, and turtle constituted 12% (R. Smith *et al.* 1981 as cited in Singleton 1985: 173).

Theresa Singleton conducted excavations at the Butler Island rice plantation located in Darien, Georgia. Numerous slaves worked there and at Hampton Plantation which was located at St. Simons Island (Moore 1981 as cited in Singleton 1985: 175). Bone weight was used when analyzing fragments due to their poor condition, as MNI could not be determined. Three slave cabin sites were excavated at the plantation and were found to illustrate a heavy dependence on wild species. Domestic animals supplied 60% of the bone weight, most of which was from cow (Singleton, 1985, p. 175). However, due to the insufficient data, this site may not be the most accurate example (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 317).

Based on the information presented here, one can conclude that examining the faunal remains of a site and discovering the types of species that contributed to the diet of its inhabitants helps to determine the status level of the site's occupants. The subject of research for some archaeologists regarding Southern and Coastal Plantation sites has focused on establishing who occupied particular spaces on the plantation. There exists a trend in the data among Southern and Coastal Plantation's slaves eating more domestic species than their superior status planter families. One reason for planter's diets containing more non-domestic

species could be that they had slaves who were designated to collect wild resources for them (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 320).

Of course not all sites follow the same pattern. For example Pike's Bluff, a planter site, resulted in more domestic species which could be attributed to it being a smaller plantation with the planter having fewer slaves and therefore less time or resources to devote to obtaining wild species (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 320). Also, as mentioned above, excavations at the Stafford Plantation revealed the majority of the fauna belonged to non-domestic species (Singleton, 1985, p. 172). Otto concluded that because overseer and slave diets were so similar, the most reliable method of determining ethnic status of previous inhabitants of antebellum plantation sites is by examining housing and settlement patterns (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 361). Overall, as many factors as possible should be used to formulate a final conclusion as to who resided where, structural use, and who used and/or occupied the space. Although examining the faunal remains that were left behind from previous occupants is only one piece of the puzzle, it appears to be a fairly reliable indicator for most sites.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

For passersby along the heavily traveled Jasper Highway near the coast of South Carolina, it is easy to overlook the plantations of past generations that once dominated the town of Coosawhatchie. The scenic view of thick forests with the occasional church, scattered modern day homes, and the Coosawhatchie River hide among them remnants of rice canals and artifacts deposited by the area's first settlers. The town of Coosawhatchie, named for the Coosaw Indian tribe, dates back to as early as the 1740s (Coosawhatchie Historical Marker). Its location near the coast on the southeastern portion of South Carolina made this land ideal for producing crops, as well as importing and exporting goods (Figure 1). For this reason many settlers established prosperous indigo, rice, and cotton plantations in the area. One plantation in particular, Mont Repose was owned by the Gillison family and at one point was included as one of the leading producers of rice during the mid nineteenth century.

Coosawhatchie's documented history begins with the Revolutionary War, where in a 1779 raid British troops destroyed most of the structures in the town by fire, as well as a nearby bridge. Coosawhatchie held the status of capital of the Beaufort District for forty-seven years, from 1789-1836 when the county seat was moved to Gillisonville (Coosawhatchie Historical Marker). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was a major producer and exporter of crops such as rice and cotton, filling the pockets of many plantation owners in the area. From 1861 to 1862 General Robert E. Lee was commander of the Confederate Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida and established his headquarters in Coosawhatchie. During

the war several battles were fought in and around the town for control of the Charleston and Savannah railroad. Confederate earthworks, some of which are visible to this day, were constructed at strategic positions to protect this vital Confederate communication and supply line (Stone Jr., 2008, pp. 69-70).

One of the most important families to live in the area during this time was the Gillisons. The family continues to be richly involved in the history of the area as there remain roads and a town named for them. The only original structure that remains from the beginnings of Gillisonville is the Baptist church. It was used by Union soldiers during the civil war and therefore spared from damage. In fact a communion set at the church was etched with the following: "War of 1861-2-3-4. Feb. 1865. This is done by a Yankee soldier" (SCDAH, 2010).

Derry Gillison

Arriving in the area in the 1760s was Derry Pitman Gillison, a young man perhaps only in his twenties. Derry Gillison was born in Barwick, Massachusetts on June 10, 1743 and is believed to be the decedent of Irish immigrants. On January 8, 1770 Derry married Elizabeth "Rebecca" Bethson, who was born December 12, 1750. Although identifying an exact date of his arrival in the Coosawhatchie area is difficult due to the lack of remaining historical documents, Derry is first mentioned in South Carolina as being a witness to a deed in 1771 in Granville County (Holcomb, South Carolina Deed Abstracts, 1976, pp. 200-207). A deed in 1775 for land in Granville County belonging to Hezekiah Rose states his new purchase was bound on the North with land owned by Derry Gillison (Holcomb, South Carolina Deed Abstracts 1773-1778, 1994, p. 41). This gives affirmation to Derry owning land in the Coosawhatchie area. In

October 1779 Derry served his country for twenty seven days during the Revolutionary War as an express rider, carrying messages between Charleston and Savannah (Moss, 1983, p. 360). He is listed on the 1790 United States Census as living in the Beaufort District along with seven household members, or free whites, and thirty-nine slaves (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 8). This attests to the fact that he was well established in the area by 1790 with a number of slaves in his possession. According to the Abram Huguenin Bible, owned by Adelaide H. Colcock, Derry and Elizabeth had twelve children including Mary, Thomas Charles, Mosley, Joseph, Elizabeth, David William, Anna Marie, Sarah, Susannah, Mary Drayton, Charles, and Samuel (See family genealogy in Figure 2). Close examination of birth and death dates reveal that at least Mary, Mosley, and Joseph did not survive to adulthood (Austin, 2008, pp. 296-297). Most of his surviving children went on to marry, have families, and own successful plantations. *The South Carolina Gazette* printed a marriage announcement for Anna Maria, daughter of Derry Gillison of St. Luke's Parish, to Abraham Huguenin, just one of the many Gillison marriages with local prominent families which would also included the Colcocks and Gregories (Salley Jr., 1902, p. 120).

Exactly what brought Derry to South Carolina is not clear, but it has long been thought that he came to Coosawhatchie, South Carolina as a fairly young man and began work tanning leather. A letter accompanying a miniature painting of Derry reveals that the portrait is of "...young Gillison moving South brought with him many Negro slaves, bought up lands in Coosawhatchie in old Granville County, then Beaufort, now Jasper County; established a tannery... His negro workers converted the leather into shoes, bridles, saddles, harness, etc." (Hugenin, 1935). This miniature portrait, which shows a middle aged Derry with a fair

complexion, grey eyes, and light colored hair, was donated to the Gibbs Art Gallery in South Carolina by Annie T. Colcock, his great-great granddaughter (Hugenin, 1935). By supplying the local plantations with these much needed items, Derry earned a substantial living at producing leather goods in the area. The leather goods produced at Derry's tannery were appealing to local planters who previously had to produce the items on site or import them from other locations at a great expense. It is likely the large profits made from this business allowed him to acquire several plantations in Saint Luke's Parish of Beaufort County, South Carolina.

A receipt for a slave dated May 31, 1806 shows that Derry Gillison paid Benjamin Buckner, of St. Luke's Parrish, three hundred fifty dollars for a "negro girl by the name of Mary" (Bill of Sale, 1806). In 1810 the United States Census lists Derry as living in St. Luke's Parish with 136 slaves (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 3). Derry and his wife would both perish before the recording of the 1820 census. The tombstones of Derry and his wife, Rebecca, are located in Coosawhatchie and indicate that they died in 1816 and 1819 respectively. Although he lived to the age of 73, Derry died shortly before the town of Gillisonville was established in his name. By 1831 the town of Gillisonville had established a free school and in 1840 a post office. A Baptist Church was also constructed in 1838 and in 1885 was named Gillisonville Baptist Church (SCDAH, 2010). For 28 years it was the seat of the Beaufort District from 1840 until 1868 (Gillisonville Historical Marker, 2010). Perhaps furthering the success of Gillisonville was the relocation there of the Beaufort District Courthouse and jail, having been moved from Coosawhatchie following complaints of unhealthy conditions for whites and prisoners. Its location in Coosawhatchie being close to marshlands made its visitors easy targets for disease carrying mosquitoes during the hot summer months (Petition, 1836). A square was then

constructed in Gillisonville around the courthouse which included at least a brick hotel and tavern owned by a German immigrant (Moore, Rogers Jr., & Rowland, 1998, p. 385). The footprint Derry Gillison left behind on this area of South Carolina contributes to his being considered the founding father of Gillisonville.

During the civil war, Gillisonville and the surrounding area suffered the ravages of war. Norris Crossman, a Union soldier in the 56th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, kept a detailed diary of his troop's activities. He gives vivid accounts of foraging and then destroying by fire several plantations such as that of Colonel Colcock located on Grahamville Road. On Thursday, January 19, 1865 his entry states:

“Col. Van Myck took about 200 men and went out to Gillisonville. Meas, Smith and I went ahead and found the town all quiet. The cavalry came up at 10 am we secured provision, furniture, etc. etc. The court house and jail were burned also the hotel, a store and two or three deserted dwellings. We returned to camp at 4 pm” (Crossman, 1864).

The Union soldier's firsthand account gives valuable insight as to why there is little documentation for many of the people and properties in the Coosawhatchie area, including the Mont Repose plantation discussed in this research. Primary sources have been difficult to find regarding the Gillisons during the 18th and early 19th centuries. After Gillisonville was destroyed, Beaufort was named the county seat. Gillisonville then became part of Hampton County and later Jasper County, in which it is located today.

Samuel R. Gillison

Because documentation from this area and time period is scarce, the history of the Mont Repose Plantation can only begin with Samuel R. Gillison's ownership. Although as of yet, it cannot be proven by documentation from whom Samuel purchased his Mont Repose tract of land, it is possible he or his father obtained it from Glen Drayton. A plat map dated May 11, 1786 shows that Glen Drayton owned property including the Mont Repose tract (SCDAH, 1786). Drayton owned land in the Coosawhatchie area until at least 1790 when an advertisement for a "likely young country born negro fellow who calls himself Monday. And says he belongs to Mr. Glen Drayton Coosawhatchie South Carolina..." was placed in the Georgia Gazette in July of that year (The Georgia Gazette, 1790). It is possible that Glen Drayton, who was related to the well-known Draytons of Charleston, South Carolina, owned and operated the Mont Repose plantation but did not live there, as was common in those times. In 1795 an article appeared in the Georgia Gazette reporting a fire has consumed the "dwelling house of Glen Drayton... on Ashley River" where he may have resided (The Georgia Gazette, 1795). To date it is not certain who obtained the Mont Repose property directly from Glen Drayton, but it did eventually become the property of Samuel Gillison, Sr.

It is fairly safe to assume that he was born and raised in the Coosawhatchie area because the 1790 census confirms that by the time of Samuel's birth, his father, Derry, was well established in the region. By 1820 he is listed on the Census for St. Luke's Parish in the Beaufort District of South Carolina. Apparently Samuel was a successful plantation owner in St. Luke's

Parish by this time as the 1820 Census also indicates there were eight household members and 26 slaves (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 11).

Samuel R. Gillison Sr., was born about 1790 and married Elizabeth Ann Smith on June 6, 1812 at Ramblers Retreat in Screven County, Georgia (The American Patriot, 1812). Elizabeth, who was better known as “Eliza”, was the daughter of Lieutenant Aaron and Elizabeth Smith from the nearby Barnwell district and was born around 1790 (The South Carolina Historical Magazine, 1935). Samuel and Eliza had six children: Thomas S., William D., Georgianna Adela, Samuel R. Junior, Martha, and Sarah Rebecca. Their son Thomas would go on to achieve the title “Colonel” and William went to the prestigious Yale University and received his medical degree. The earliest documented mention of Mont Repose is in a Yale Yearbook from 1837 signed “William D. Gillison Mont Repose South Carolina” (Yale College Class of 1837 Autograph Album, 1837). It is with William that one gets a physical description of a man in the Gillison family. At the age of 47 years, William was enlisted as a private in the Confederate States Army for the term of one year. While enlisted he became ill with hepatitis and was discharged early in December 1861. During a visit with the company physician, William was described as “aged forty seven years, six feet high, dark complexion, grey eyes, dark hair and by profession a Doctor” (Footnote, National Archives 2010). With so little remaining documentation regarding this family and with the exception of Derry Gillison’s miniature portrait, this is perhaps the only physical description of a 19th century Gillison family member.

After her father’s death in 1817, Eliza and Samuel were challenged in court by Eliza’s siblings, brothers William H. and Aaron C. and her sister Martha, over their deceased father,

Aaron Smith's property. This "property" included slaves as well as a tract of land located on the Savannah River, where Aaron Smith resided (Smiths vs. Gillison et al, 1820). The case was finally resolved by the Beaufort District Court in September 1821 when it was ruled that the property would be divided equally between Aaron Smith's four children (Smiths vs. Gillison et al, 1821). During the research of Samuel R. Gillison, Sr. other court documents were found such as a bill of sale for a 24 year old male slave named Billy to Susan Jane Stephens on March 20, 1826 (Gillison, Samuel R., 1826). On October 17, 1826 *The Georgian* reported Samuel's election to serve as Representative for St. Luke's Parish, South Carolina, collecting a total of 141 votes (The Savannah Georgian, 1826).

In 1830 the United States Census reveals that Samuel has 9 household members, or "free whites", and 55 slaves in St. Luke's Parish as well as 124 slaves in Prince William's Parish (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 11), (Ancestry, United States Census, 1830). The absence of free whites reported at his property in Prince William's Parish indicates it was not his primary residence. It was typical for slaves to live in close proximity to the fields in which they worked. The Coosawhatchie River divides St. Luke's Parish and Prince William's Parish and, like Samuel, it was common for planters to own land on both sides of the river. In 1840 Samuel's total slaves were recorded as 223 and only 6 household members, all being reported from St. Luke's Parish (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 21). The large number of slaves indicates Samuel had a large operation underway which probably spanned several plantations. By this time all of Samuel's children were grown and establishing their own lives. At the time of his death, it is presumed that Samuel and Eliza resided at Mont Repose because only two years before his death an article from *The South Carolinian* dated March 20, 1845 reported "Married at

Montrepos, St. Luke's Parish, on the 13th Colonel Isadore Lartigue of St. Peter's to Adela G. eldest daughter of Samuel R. Gillison, esq" (Columbia News, 1845, p. 35). Also in 1845, daughter Martha married Dr. Thomas H. Gregorie also reportedly from Gillisonville (Ancestry, South Carolina Marriages, 2006). As previously mentioned, son Thomas accomplished the rank of Colonel and William became a physician while Sarah Rebecca and Adela would continue their family's legacy as successful plantation owners.

Reported in *The Southern Baptist*, Colonel Thomas S. Gillison, Samuel's eldest son, gave his father's eulogy in 1847 (*The Southern Baptist*, 1847, p. 11). At less than 60 years old, Samuel died with a request of being buried at his Mont Repose Plantation as he stated in his last will and testament: "...I hereby authorize my executors to erect a suitable wall around my family burial ground at Mont Repos and such tombstones and monuments as they may deem proper." The request for a family burial ground also reveals how important the Mont Repose property was to Samuel Gillison and reinforces the probability that this was the location of the family's permanent home. He names two other pieces of property as follows: "Also my Mount Repose Plantation with the adjacent tracts called Lambright and Wallace the former devised to me by my brother Thomas Gillison and the latter purchased by me from Mr. Wallace and formerly belonging to Mr. Morgandollar." He also mentions a "pineland house in Gillisonville and a lot of five acres..." All of these properties, along with his household and kitchen furniture were left first to his wife, Eliza, and upon her death to daughter Sarah Rebecca (Gillison S. R., 1862). Unfortunately this will does not describe from whom Samuel purchased Mont Repose, however it does give confirmation of his ownership and love of the property.

Perhaps most important to this research, in the will is a list of animals in Samuel's possession including those used for work and food production. Animals listed in the will are: "...carriage horses... four (4) mules, fifteen (15) cows and fifteen (15) calves and all my hogs on my several plantations and twenty five (25) head of sheep..." (Gillison S. R., 1862). Although the focus of this research lies at Mont Repose and that is where it is believed Samuel and his family spent most of their time, it is not specified at which property these animals were kept. At least some of these animals were used as food resources and give clues as to which type of animal remains should be found at the property.

Interestingly, Colonel Thomas S. Gillison, executor to Samuel's last will and testament, expired in 1849 shortly after his father and therefore did not complete the execution of the will. A court document filed in 1851 states the property of Samuel R. Gillison "was appraised at one hundred and eight thousand three hundred and ten dollars sixty cents. The real estate consisted of several plantations" (Appeals in Equity, 1851). Taking in to account the time period, the appraisal amount is quite substantial.

According to the 1850 United States Census, there were only two adults living in the Gillison household, Eliza and 25 year old Samuel R. Gillison Junior. It was also recorded that Eliza owned only 42 slaves, which is considerably less than the 223 reported on the 1840 census. Live stock and other assets on the plantation were also recorded for the 1850 census. In June of 1850, Samuel R. Gillison, Sr.'s estate contained 60 milch cows, 13 working oxen, 118 other cattle, 247 sheep, and 102 swine. These animals were listed on three separate lines on the census, leading one to conclude that it is possible the animals were spread over three

separate plantations. Along with 800 pounds of butter, produce such as wheat, corn, oats, rice, a small amount of peas and beans, and sweet potatoes were recorded for Samuel's estate (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, pp. 26, 39, 50-51). It is possible that in 1857 Eliza was living part of the year in Grahamville, South Carolina because *The Southern Baptist* reported the death of Sarah L. Brooks "at the residence of Mrs. Samuel R. Gillison, in Grahamville, SC" in its July 7, 1857 issue (*The Southern Baptist*, 1857, p. 70).

By 1860 Eliza A. Gillison appears on the census as a planter in St. Luke's Parish with two adult males in her household, Samuel Jr., 34 years old and Sheldon Cohen, a 25 year old mulatto. She had 35 slaves at the time (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 12). Eliza must have maintained a farm at the beginning of the Civil War as subsistence receipts show that The Confederate States purchased 1,812 pounds of beef on December 3, 1861 for a total of \$135.04. She also sold 4,367 pounds of beef to the Confederates on December 14, 1861 for \$335.28 which was received at Coosawhatchie. Another receipt dated September 26, 1862 records a transaction for 150 pounds of beef received at Pocotaligo (Subsistence Receipts, 1861-1862). To date no documentary proof has been obtained as to Eliza's date of death. However, she at least survived into her seventies because in September 1866 she signed a document releasing her interest in a particular parcel of land to her son William D. Gillison (Title to Real Estate, 1866). Eliza does not appear on the 1870 Census, so it can be assumed that she perished between 1866 and 1870.

Thomas Charles Gillison

Another important figure in the Gillison family is Thomas Charles Gillison, born to Derry and Elizabeth on February 27, 1772. Thomas and his first wife Jane were married in 1794 and had at least one son, Charles, who passed away in 1816 preceding his father in death. The 1800 United States Census lists Thomas as having three household members and forty-five slaves in Prince Williams Parish (Ancestry, United States Census, 1800). Then in 1810, he appears on the census living in Prince William Parish with four household members and ninety-four slaves (Ancestry, United States Census, 1810). Obviously Thomas was another successful Gillison family member and owned more than one plantation. In 1824 a tax document in Thomas' name for property in the St. Luke's Parish notes 1000 acres of land and 48 slaves (Gillison Tax Returns, 1824). In 1825 another tax document refers to property in Prince William Parish for 2273 acres and 157 slaves. Thomas is important to this research because upon his death, he left property to his brother Samuel and as well as to Samuel's son, also named Thomas. *The American Baptist Magazine* printed in their October 1825 edition that Mr. Thomas Gillison, Esq. "Died very suddenly in May last, at Holmsburg, (Pa.) ... in the 51st year of his age. For some months before his death, it was evident both to himself and to his friends that his earthly course was approaching a speedy termination" (Memoir of Mr. Thomas Gillison, Esq., 1825). Research shows that Thomas was active in the state of Pennsylvania, which is where he was at the time of his death. In his last will and testament, Thomas writes "...my brother Samuel Gillison property formerly belonged to the estate Lambright. Nephew: Thomas Gillison plantation called Cotton Hall near Coosawhatchie or to his eldest brother" (Gillison T. , 1825). Because Thomas' only son, Charles, had preceded him in death, he left most of his property to his brother Samuel

and his nephew Thomas. A likely reason for Thomas Charles to leave this particular property to his brother and nephew is because it was adjacent to property already in their possession.

Sarah Rebecca Gillison

Sarah Rebecca Gillison, Samuel and Eliza's youngest daughter, was born about 1829 and died March 21, 1863. Sarah Rebecca was married twice in her life, first to James J. Butler of Aiken, South Carolina, with whom she had at least two children (McClendon, Edgefield Marriage Records, 1970, p. 27). In 1850, the United States Census reports only James J. Butler, 24 years old and wife Sarah, 21 years old in their household (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 26). Unfortunately James would meet an early demise as *The Edgefield Advertiser* reported his death from consumption in April 22, 1854 (McClendon, Edgefield Death Notices and Cemetery Records, 1977, p. 111). One of Sarah Rebecca's children with James Butler, Elizabeth Gillison Butler died at an early age, most likely around 1854. It is her grave that remained visible at least until the 1930s when it was mentioned in the *Annals of Georgia, Mortuary Records*. At that time it was described as a "lone grave on a bluff one mile from Coosawhatchie, overlooking the railroad tracks" (Wilson, 1938, p. 265). During the 1999 Georgia Southern University field school season at Mont Repose, a footstone with the initials E.G.B were found against a large oak tree in an area that fitted the description of Elizabeth Gillison Butler's burial location.

Further research and removal of the topsoil in this area revealed at least thirteen graves and is believed to be the family cemetery for Samuel R. Gillison, Sr. The presence of the grave belonging to Sarah Rebecca's daughter suggests that she and James Butler resided at Mont Repose during their marriage. James and Sarah Rebecca also had a daughter, Louisa Ford Butler

born June 30, 1852 (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 23). As previously mentioned, upon her mother's death Sarah Rebecca was to inherit Mont Repose along with two other properties, Lambright and Wallace. She was also to receive Samuel's kitchen and household furniture (Gillison S. R., 1862). By 1860, the United States Census lists Sarah R. Butler 30 years old and Louisa F. Butler 7 years old in St. Luke's Parish with a Grahamville post office box. The value of Sarah Rebecca's real estate is listed as \$800 and the value of her personal estate at \$12,500. The slaves number only fourteen (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, p. 23).

By 1862 Sarah was living in Grahamville and corresponding with her new husband, stationed in North Carolina with the 25th Regiment. Sarah Rebecca writes to him weekly and noted the presence of Regiments stationed in the area. She wrote "The village is filled with men, three Regiments are stationed here, the ladies cannot walk out, they are so rude... I sent the most valuable pieces of furniture to Greenville today..." (Walker, 1862). Obviously there is a concern for personal safety and it also appears that her mother is living with her at least part of the time. It is believed that during the Civil War, perhaps for safety concerns, Mont Repose was abandoned as Sarah Rebecca and her young daughter Louisa moved to Grahamville. In 1863 Sarah Rebecca and John had a daughter, Sarah Rebecca "Sallie" Walker (Ancestry). That same year, the *Confederate Baptist* reported "Died at her mother's residence, in Grahamville, S.C., on the 21st March, 1863, Mrs. Sarah R. Walker, consort of Capt. John W. Walker, and youngest daughter of the late Samuel R. Gillison, of St. Luke's Parish..." (Confederate Baptist, 1864, p. 114).

Upon the death of Sarah Rebecca, Mont Repose was passed to her daughters Louisa Butler and Sarah Walker. Mont Repose was most likely never inhabited again after Sarah Rebecca left her home place during the Civil War. What happened to the home itself is not known for sure. It is quite possible it was burned by Union troops, but at this point no documentation can prove this. Ensuing court filings for possession of the property on behalf of the sisters eventually led to it being sold. In February 1877, Probate Judge A.B. Addison ruled that Mont Repose would be sold by the Sheriff of Beaufort County on the third day of April (Loula F. Butler against Sallie Walker, 1877). The property would eventually be used for logging purposes and was ultimately purchased for use as a hunting preserve for which it is currently used.

During the lifetimes of Samuel Gillison, Sr. and his children, the Mont Repose plantation was home and where they made much of their living cultivating rice. Gazing down the beautiful oak alley at present day, one can only imagine the structures that once stood at Mont Repose. There are no longer cabins for the slaves or a house for the plantation owner. No more are the out-buildings and support structures that once facilitated the production of rice. What is left today are open fields and thick forests visited by wildlife and seasonal hunters. As fragmented ceramics litter the property, one can clearly see that many people once resided on and worked this land. None of this work would have been possible without the hard work from slaves.

Slaves at Mont Repose

In order for plantation owners to profit from crops such as rice, slaves were vital to the cultivation and production process at any plantation. These forced immigrants were brought to

America from West African countries already possessing the knowledge of tidewater rice cultivation. It is estimated that in South Carolina before the Civil War as much as 187,000 acres of wetlands were being planted with rice by an estimated 100,000 slaves (Carney, 2001, p. 78). By 1820 there were 8,450 slaves documented on the census for St. Luke's Parish, as compared to only 760 whites. In 1820 slaves in St. Luke's Parish outnumbered whites 11 to one (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, pp. 29-30). The Gillisons are an example of a family of plantation owners that realized the prosperity and success to be gained by owning slaves and having them cultivate rice for profit in the South Carolina low country.

Europeans first noted the farming of rice on African floodplains as far back as 1446 when a Portuguese chronicler wrote of observing it near Gambia. It's no coincidence that West Africans were brought to the Americas, in particular to South Carolina and Georgia, from countries such as Gambia, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. Slave traders were well aware of the demand for slaves possessing the knowledge and skills of tidewater rice cultivation and commonly advertised slaves skilled in rice for sale in newspapers. By 1690 the planting of rice was well underway in South Carolina and "by the 1720s rice emerged as the colony's leading item of trade" (Carney, 2001, p. 84). Much of this rice was being exported to Jamaica where the demand for rice was high and in the year 1772 exports from South Carolina exceeded well over sixty million pounds per year (Carney, 2001, p. 84).

Preparing land for tidewater cultivation required immense changes to the landscape and extremely arduous work performed by slaves. For example, after clearing the land of timber and brush, slaves dug massive ditches and canals equipping them with flood gates that would

allow water in and out. It has been suggested that some of the resulting canal embankments were up to seven feet tall and stretched fifteen feet wide (Ferguson, 1992, p. xxiv). This type of system would allow for flooding the fields which in turn helped to eliminate weeds and pests. After preparing the land, cultivation could begin. According to David Doar, a Gillison relative and rice planter, the “task” system was typically used in the low country, meaning that after the slaves had completed his or her required task for the day he “was at liberty to go home and do as he pleased” (Doar, 1936, p. 33). Carney gives a little more insight into this task system by explaining that it was more organized and allowed the slaves more time to cultivate their own gardens, hunt and fish. This led to better nutrition and helped to set limits for the number of hours the slaves were expected to work (Carney, 2001, pp. 98-101).

Another aspect of similarity with Africans and South Carolina coastal rice cultivation methods that should be considered is the pattern of cattle tending along with rice farming. As observed in Africa, “the rain-fed system of rice cultivation developed as part of a rotational land use with cattle,” allowing one to hypothesize that slaves came to America with the knowledge of cattle tending in conjunction with rice farming (Carney, 2001, p. 85). They used a simple strategy of allowing the cattle to graze the stubble in the dry season and then use their manure for fertilizer during the growing season.

By examining the United States Census one can follow the trend of increasing numbers of slaves at Derry’s property from 39 slaves in 1790 to its peak of 136 in 1810. The first mention of Samuel’s slaves begins in 1820 with him owning 26 slaves at St. Luke’s Parish. According to the 1840 United States Census, the total number of slaves at Samuel R. Gillison Sr.’s property in

St. Luke's Parish reaches its peak at 223. The Agricultural Census of 1850 sites the plantation, likely to be Mont Repose, as producing only 162,000 pounds of rice for that season. Other vegetables produced included 1100 bushels of corn, 320 bushels of oats, 55 bushels of peas and beans, and 900 bushels of sweet potatoes (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, pp. 8, 21-22, 29-30, 50-51). The weight of rice produced is considered low when compared to other rice plantations. It is quite possible the numbers had decreased because of Samuel's 1847 death combined with their production of the other vegetables. Plantations from nearby Parishes reported 25-35 bushels per acre, with one bushel equaling approximately 28 pounds of clean rice, between 1850 and 1860 (Doar, 1936, p. 41). At any rate, there were a substantial number of slaves working for the Gillison family by 1840 and most likely helped to produce far more rice than the amount reported in 1850. Several generations of the Gillison family profited from the cultivation of rice by the many slaves they owned over a period of at least one hundred years.

With the importance and existence of the slaves established, attention can be turned to the analysis of a particular structure on the property of Mont Repose. With such a vast array of artifacts recovered from this site, it is necessary to examine each group of artifacts in order to come to conclusions as to who occupied particular areas of it. Most specifically the faunal remains from the block unit currently being excavated will be the focus here. Slaves had a different diet than that of the plantation owner. By examining the faunal remains, some conclusions can be made as to who was eating from these animal bones.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Research and field work at Mont Repose, site number 38JA407, has been an ongoing process spanning over the past decade. In May of 1999 a small crew from Georgia Southern University went to the property and began surveying the area, currently owned by Martha Black and leased to a hunting club. Artifacts found during initial surface collections included fragments of historic ceramics such as whiteware, pearlware, annular ware, and creamware, as well as gun flint, brick, glass, chert flakes, Native American pottery, and projectile points. Shovel tests were then excavated at fifty meter intervals. These tests yielded many of the same types of artifacts as the surface collections (brick, historic ceramics, and glass fragments). Based on the concentration of artifacts, a block was begun in the spring of 2000 with the opening of the N808 E800 unit, measuring two meters by two meters. Based on the artifacts recovered, this unit was initially theorized to be part of a kitchen structure.

Work has continued since the spring of 2000 on the block now comprised of sixteen units, a portion of which is visible in Figure 3, with the recovery of a mixed variety of artifacts. At the start of the excavations a 1/4 inch screen was used for separating the dirt from artifacts. However, it was decided for the spring 2006 Field School session that all new units opened would use a 1/16 inch screen. Also units N810 E798 and N808 E800 were changed to 1/16 screen size. This change was made in order to capture some of the smaller bone fragments, fish scales, and straight pins that would be more likely to slip through the previous larger screen size of 1/4 inch. It was also determined rather early on that water screening would be necessary

due to the large wet clusters of red clay, which made it difficult to dry screen. Water screening made the artifacts, in particular the bone fragments, more easily visible upon rinsing away the clay.

Some artifacts such as eating utensils, ceramics, and food bone suggest a structure designated for food preparation such as a kitchen. However, other artifacts including bone buttons, bone toothbrushes, bottle glass fragments, a broach, glass beads, and a bone lice comb suggest a dwelling, laundry or other work related structure. The ceramics identified include creamware, pearlware, stoneware, white salt glaze, porcelain, and lead glaze earthenware with no whiteware having been found. Whiteware was recovered during surface surveys of the property, but not within the units being examined here. The Mean Ceramic Date has been determined to be around 1803. Other artifacts found within the structure are hand wrought nails, window glass, pipe fragments, a horseshoe, straight pins, furniture tacks, tobeys jug fragments, a case bottle which was crushed in place, and a seven foot wide bucking saw. There is a significant chimney fall, resulting in a large scattering of many bricks. It was decided from the beginning of excavations that the brick and mortar would be weighed but not collected and curated. Figure 4 illustrates the large thick clay footings that have been uncovered on one side, giving clues as to at least part of the structure's dimensions. As excavations have continued throughout the years, an attempt has been made to locate the outer edges of the structure however; to date the boundaries have not been delineated.

A substantial amount of bone fragments were recovered from many of the units comprising the large block. These faunal remains are believed to be from food sources for

either slaves or the planter and his family. Of the sixteen units, faunal remains from eight of these units are included in the specimens sorted for analysis. These units include N810 E798, N810 E800, N810 E802, N808 E798, N808 E800, N808 E802, N808 E804, and N806 E802 (Figure 5). Figure 6 gives an overview of the units used for this analysis while Figure 7 illustrates a shaded distribution of bone by gram weight. The darkest units observed in Figure 7 were the most heavily concentrated by bone weight.

For the purposes of this research, 10,355 bone fragments were sorted, reaching a total gram weight of 14,809.94. The remaining bone fragments have been counted and weighed but not sorted by species or element. The unit, zone, and level was noted for these non-sorted fragments which reach a total count of 4,397 and a total gram weight of 5,398.30. For purposes of this research, only the sorted bones will be examined as it is considered to be a large enough sample from which to base conclusions regarding what type of structure is being excavated and who occupied and utilized it, slave or master.

The total faunal remains examined at other sites vary depending on how much has been recovered. For example, faunal material from the Roublemond Plantation site in Beaufort, South Carolina yielded “3,912 bones and skeletal fragments which weigh a total of 16.22 kg” (Hacker, 1999, p. 147). These fragments were from the main house and slave quarters. In 1981 Sue Mullins Moore completed her examination of faunal remains from three antebellum coastal plantation sites. The faunal material was just one portion of the overall assessment she made but was a key part of the study. At Pike’s bluff she had a total gram weight of 2,892.20, for Sinclair a much larger gram weight total of 6,060.70, and for the Jones Creek Settlement a

total of 3,253.30 grams (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 120, 169, 236). John Solomon Otto completed a study from three sites at Cannon's Point Plantation at St. Simons Island in 1975 that included faunal studies from a slave cabin, the overseer's house and the planter's kitchen. From the slave cabin Otto examined a fragment count of 4,005 with a total gram weight of 1,343.60, the overseer's house included 1,107 fragments weighing 382.30, and lastly the planter's kitchen site contained a fragment total of 10,034 weighing 3,915.4 grams (Otto, 1975, pp. 311-317).

Biomass calculations were made based on Elizabeth Reitz's formula found in Table 1. Biomass is considered to be a more accurate method of examining and determining the amount of meat provided by various species. Simply using bone weight could skew the data as mammals with larger bones will result in a higher bone gram weight. Biomass utilizes a different constant for differing classes and species, giving a better indication of the amount of meat provided by a particular species (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 319).

Table 1. Biomass Formula.

$y = ax^b$		
x = skeletal mass		
y = biomass		
a = Y intercept of log-log plot using method of least squares and best fit line		
b = slope of the line		
Constants		
	a (kg)	b (kg)
Mammal	1.12	.90
Bird	1.04	.91
Turtle	.51	.67
Osteichthyes	.90	.81
Snake	1.17	1.01

After being collected in the field from the respective unit, the bone fragments were bagged by separate Levels and Zones, often times being quite numerous and requiring multiple bags. After reaching the archaeology laboratory at Georgia Southern University, the fragments were cleaned, then sorted based on species and element using standard zooarchaeological methods. The fragments were then counted and gram weight was calculated. Anomalies such as cut marks, burning or evidence of having been hand worked were noted as well. Only a total count of 106 fragments and a gram weight of 1,420.3 exhibited cut marks, which would have

resulted from the process of butchering or consuming. Evidence of burning, those fragments displaying a charred or calcined appearance, amounted to a total count of 370 and gram weight of 292. The charred and calcined appearance of the bone fragments could be the result of being tossed into the hearth after butchering or consuming or from the land having been burned at a later time. In any event, the total fragments exhibiting cut marks or burning is relatively small.

CHAPTER 4

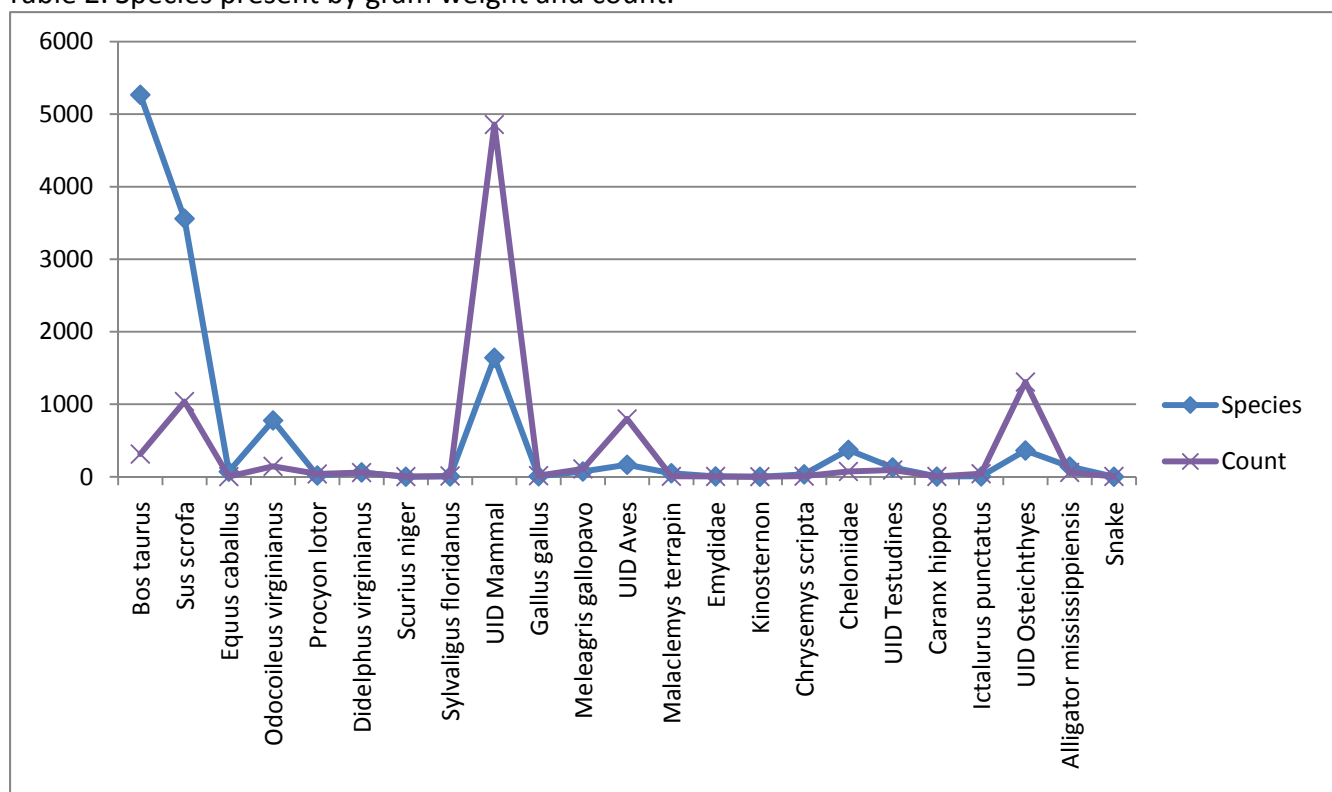
ANALYSIS

Subsistence amongst coastal plantations may have varied somewhat, but there has been research revealing trends in the manners in which plantation owners ate and how they fed their slaves. Several sources refer to a slave receiving meat as a privilege and not a right which was not to be expected on any regular basis and perhaps being reserved in most cases for special occasions such as Christmas or to break up the monotony of regular rations of corn or rice (Dusinberre, 1996, p. 179). Variations such as allowing slaves to own a few hogs and/or chickens, purchasing barreled meat, and being issued more regular meat rations, even on a weekly basis, can be seen across southern plantations and will all be considered for this research. However many faunal remains have been recovered from the Mont Repose plantation site which makes it obvious that someone was consuming meat which leads to the question of who ate the meat from these remains, planter or slave. Figures 16 through 23 in Appendix A represent some of the faunal material recovered from the site.

Of the 14,809.94 total gram weight resulting from the faunal remains studied, 13,369.08 grams belong in the mammal category. The majority of overall skeletal weight belonging to mammal can be attributed to the fact that within this category are the large mammals such as *Bos taurus* (domestic cow), *Sus scrofa* (domestic pig), and *Odocoileus virginianus* (white tailed deer). Two teeth from *Equus caballus* (domestic horse) were identified towards the end of the research but no other large bones could be positively classified as horse. Of course the large bones resulting from these animal remains will provide the bulk of gram weight. Other small

mammals identified were *Procyon lotor* (raccoon), *Didelphus virginianus* (opossum), *Scurius niger* (squirrel), and *Sylvilagus floridanus* (eastern cottontail rabbit). The next highest yielding gram weight of faunal remains came from the Testudines order which refers to turtles including tortoises and terrapins. Specific genus and species identified for the Testudines order are *Malaclemys terrapin* (diamond back terrapin), *Emydidae* (box and pond turtles), *Kinosternon* (mud turtle), *Chrysemys scripta* (slider turtle), and *Cheloniidae* (sea turtle). The class Osteichthyes follows behind Testudines with a total gram weight of 373.32. Only two specific genus and species, *Caranx hippos* (crevalle jack fish) and *Ictalurus punctatus* (catfish), could be positively identified in this class. The majority of the identifiable faunal remains pertaining to Osteichthyes were placed in the “small fish” and “large fish” categories. It is highly likely that a sizable portion of the “large fish” actually belongs to the large drum fish but this could not be officially established. Next are the remains identified as belonging to the Aves class, with the only specific genus and species being classified as *Gallus gallus* (domestic chicken) and *Meleagris gallopavo* (turkey). The rest of the identifiable Aves remains were simply placed into categories of “small bird”, “medium bird”, and “large bird.” Lastly, a category for the class Reptilia includes faunal remains from at least one *Alligator mississippiensis* and one small snake. Although Testudines are technically also part of the Reptilia class, the two were categorized separately for research purposes. Each category of faunal remains will be discussed further, including historical information and further examination of the remains. Table 2 presents categories used in this research, as well as the total gram weight recovered for each.

Table 2. Species present by gram weight and count.



***Bos taurus* (cow)**

Cattle continue to be a large part of many American diets today as was the case in the 18th and 19th centuries. Cows have long been valued for the many contributions they can make towards the human diet, but have also been useful for their hides and manure. Other than meat, hides, and manure, cows provide many dietary items such as butter, milk, cheese, and buttermilk (Hacker & Trinkley, 1999 p. 148). During the early settlement of South Carolina and as early as 1670, British settlers “shipped barrels of salt beef to British West Indian colonies in exchange for sugar, slaves, and cash. The money and slaves earned from beef exports in turn permitted Carolinians to purchase lands and plant rice.” (Otto J. S., 1986, p. 117) Early on cattle were considered fairly easy to raise as they would graze in the nearby woods during the day

and return to their pens at night. Returning to their pens at night provided protection from predators and also allowed time for calves to nurse from their mothers. The nursing mothers provided milk which was taken sparingly for plantation use (Otto J. S., 1986 p. 118).

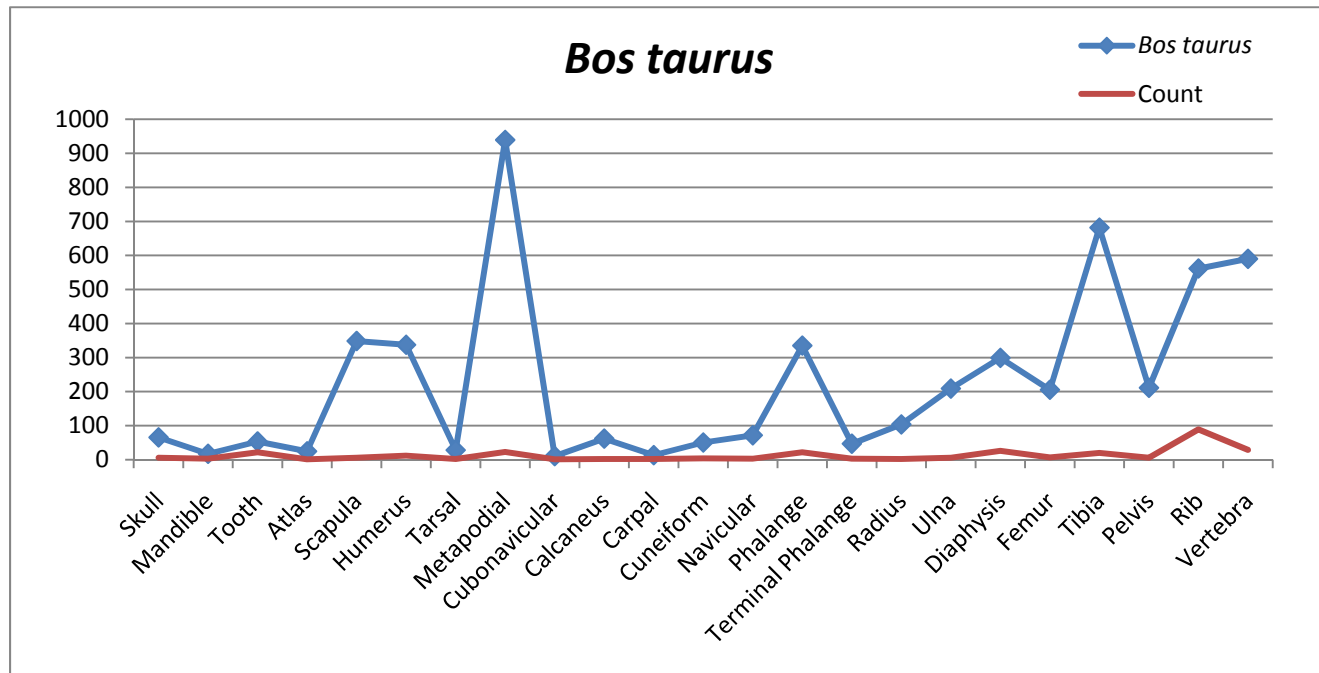
The use of slaves by these settlers offered the man power needed to raise and butcher cattle. It has been suggested that slaves brought with them this knowledge from their African countries (Otto J. S., 1986 p. 121-122). Typically the cattle would be ready for slaughter in the fall, after fattening during the summer months (Otto J. S., 1986 p. 118). While Otto's article suggests that cattle "required little expenditure of labor," Hacker and Trinkley point out that raising cattle was more arduous compared to pigs (Otto J. S., 1986 p. 122; Hacker & Trinkley, 1999, p. 148). At any rate, it is clear by the presence of numerous skeletal elements that cows were used as a food source at Mont Repose and most likely made important dietary and at least some economic contributions to the inhabitants.

Recall that Samuel Gillison Sr. died in 1847 and in his last will and testament some animals were specifically listed which included "...fifteen (15) cows and fifteen (15) calves..." and while it is not certain exactly which plantation these cows resided on, it does confirm their presence and availability to the family (Gillison S. R., 1862). Also on the 1850 census the estate of Samuel Gillison, Sr. is listed as having "...Milch cows = 60, Working oxen = 13, Cattle = 118..." (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, pp. 50-51). During this time period "milch" cows were those producing milk. Compared to Samuel's last will and testament, the census displays a much larger number of cattle present, which is specific to his St. Luke's Parish property. Another confirmation of the presence of cattle, as previously noted, is the fact that Samuel's widow Eliza

Gillison was helping to supply Confederate troops by selling beef rations during the Civil War years 1861 and 1862. Because the beef was listed by pounds, it is most likely the cattle were sold after slaughtering (Subsistence Receipts, 1861-1862).

While *Bos taurus* skeletal fragments accounted for the majority weight with a total of 5,266.66 grams and biomass of 22,377 grams, it did not produce the most numerous fragment count, which was a total of 313. A total of 43 *Bos taurus* fragments display butcher marks while only 3 show evidence of burning. The minimum number of individuals was estimated to be seven. Evidently some of the cows included in this study were of juvenile age as 15 fragments had unfused epiphyses. It is likely that other fragments are also from juveniles, but with no epiphysis directly attached, it is not possible to determine age status from most of the remains. Cow remains were found in all eight units used in this research and were among levels 2 and 3. All zones, A through D were represented as well.

Table 3. *Bos taurus* elements present by gram weight and count.



By examining the information presented in Table 3, it is clear that many elements from the *Bos taurus* hind and forelimbs are present. No remains were identified as caudal vertebrae for the cow. Bones from the feet such as tarsals, metapodials, and phalanges are the most numerous, along with tibia, rib and vertebra. Identifiable vertebra fragments include 45.0 grams of lumbar vertebra and 226.4 grams of thoracic vertebra. By looking at Figure 8 within Appendix A, it appears that the lumbar vertebrae are close in proximity to the more desirable “sirloin” section of the cow. Figure 8 presents an early to mid-nineteenth century view of the butchering divisions of a cow. The highlighted areas correspond to the choice cuts of meat according to Leslie and Randolph’s recipe books.

Representing a smaller amount of *Bos taurus* fragments are those from the skull and pelvis. It is possible that bones from these areas were too fragmented to identify. It should also

be noted that some of the skeletal fragments included in the “large mammal” category quite possibly belong to *Bos taurus*.

According to Eliza Leslie’s 1857 cookbook which was considered popular in the South, “the finest and tenderest steaks are those cut from the sirloin. The meat of a young well-fed heifer is very good; and that of an old ox, that has done working, and afterwards been fattened well on plenty of wholesome food, may be made of superior excellence” (Leslie, 1857, p. 139). Another popular receipt book, as they were commonly referred to, was written by Thomas Jefferson’s cousin Mary Randolph and included recipes for beef brisket and flank of beef. In both of these cookbooks much detail is included regarding proper processing and preserving techniques, the healthy appearance of meat, and advice on selecting the more desirable cuts. Randolph warns that a cow’s old age at the time of slaughter may lead to lower quality meat and asserts “The best age is from three to five years” (Randolph, 1838, p. 25). She also refers to the seventh and eighth ribs as being the “best part of the beef for steaks” because “the fat and lean are better mixed, and it is more tender than the rump if it be kept long enough” (Randolph, 1838, p. 32). Although Leslie’s book was published a little later than the Mont Repose site dates, it is likely that many of the practices and thoughts regarding food was similar to those during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

It has long been considered that when animals were butchered for plantation consumption, the planter family would receive the best cuts of meat and the less desirable cuts were given to the slaves. Hilliard asserts that beef was not consumed quite as much as pork because it was harder to preserve and thought to be poorer in nutrition than pork. He points

out that for this reason, at least on some Southern plantations when beef was occasionally provisioned to slaves it was in greater quantity than pork. In fact on many rice plantations the ration for slaves was often “one pound of pork or two of beef” (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 58-59). This could have been done from time to time to break up the monotony of consuming pork or when pork rations were low. Seldom was beef issued on a daily or weekly basis and often times was reserved for special occasions and was not a common occurrence in the slave diet (Hilliard, 1972, p. 130). As it turns out, pork actually provides less protein than beef (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 59, 63). South Carolina rice planter, David Doar wrote that “every now and again beef was killed and issued (to slaves) as fresh for a change” and also referenced beef being distributed amongst slaves at Christmas (Doar, 1936, pp. 32-33). On the other hand, Otto noted that if there was an abundance of cattle available it is possible they would have been periodically slaughtered for distribution amongst slaves (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 293).

Regardless of how often slaves received rations of beef; it is likely that whenever they received it, they were given the poorer cuts of meat as the better cuts were reserved for the planter. Otto found in his research that on one Carolina coastal plantation when steers were butchered, “the planter family reserved the hindquarters; they gave the forequarters and the offal – the heads, necks, legs, tails, and viscera to the slaves” (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 296). Otto examined faunal remains from three different structures on a coastal plantation which included the planter’s kitchen, the overseer’s house, and a slave cabin. He found that at the slave cabin identifiable cow elements included vertebrae, teeth, ribs, pelvis, and scapulae fragments. Femurs were absent from the faunal remains found near the slave cabin. The planter’s kitchen possessed femurs from hogs and cows along with teeth and cranial fragments. Otto surmised

that the hindlimbs had been reserved for slave consumption. From his site, Otto found that cattle bones made up 30% of the total bone weight from the overseer's house, 33% from the slave cabin, and 42% from the planter's kitchen (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 332-334).

Excavations at the Roupelmond plantation main house yielded 10 fragments belonging to *Bos taurus* with a minimum of three individuals present. The biomass contribution from 170 grams of bone weight was calculated to be 2,880 grams of meat. From the main house assemblage, biomass from the cow contributed 67.3 percent. The slave settlement at Roupelmond yielded many more cow bone fragments, with a total of 260 and a minimum number of 30 individuals. According to biomass calculations about 106,450 grams of meat was provided by the 7,700 grams of cow bone present at the slave settlement. Although considerably more faunal material belonging to cow was present at the slave settlement, it provided only 47.7 percent of the meat. Considerably more faunal material was recovered from the slave settlement in comparison to the main house (Hacker, 1999, p. 153).

The Pike's Bluff faunal material yielded 523.60 grams of bone belonging to *Bos taurus* with a minimum of 11 individuals present. The bone weight contributed 18.1 percent of the overall faunal assemblage recovered at the Pike's Bluff site. Similarly, the Sinclair kitchen site contained 680.00 grams of cow bones, 15.1 percent overall. At least nine individuals were present within the Sinclair kitchen assemblage. The slave house site at Sinclair yielded only 140.70 grams of bone belonging to cow and a minimum of two individuals. The bone weight contributed 25 percent of the overall bone material at the slave house site. No cow bones were identified at the Sinclair main house. The Jones Creek slave settlement, on the other hand

revealed a heavy reliance on cows with 594.80 grams of bone weight present. A minimum number of 21 cows were represented at the Jones Creek site (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171, 174, 175, 235).

It should be considered that if slaves were receiving more cow limbs along with the head and tail, then perhaps more bone weight would be gathered from these elements in contrast to the elements the planter would have received. Perhaps the cuts received by the planter's family did not contain as many bones to begin with, containing more meat or muscle tissue instead. It is possible that the representation of meat received by the planter's family is actually considerably more than can be seen by examination of the faunal material present.

***Sus scrofa* (pig)**

Perhaps the most important contributor to the plantation diet be it for the planter or slave, was the pig, *Sus scrofa*. Many accounts of pigs refer to them as being easier than cattle to raise and tend to because they could be allowed to roam freely and feed, eating almost anything available. Pigs were also a profitable animal to raise because their meat, like that of cows, could be sold. Many plantations barreled beef and pork for sale, however at this time there is no record of whether or not the inhabitants of Mont Repose bought or sold meat other than the beef sold to the Confederate troops during the Civil War.

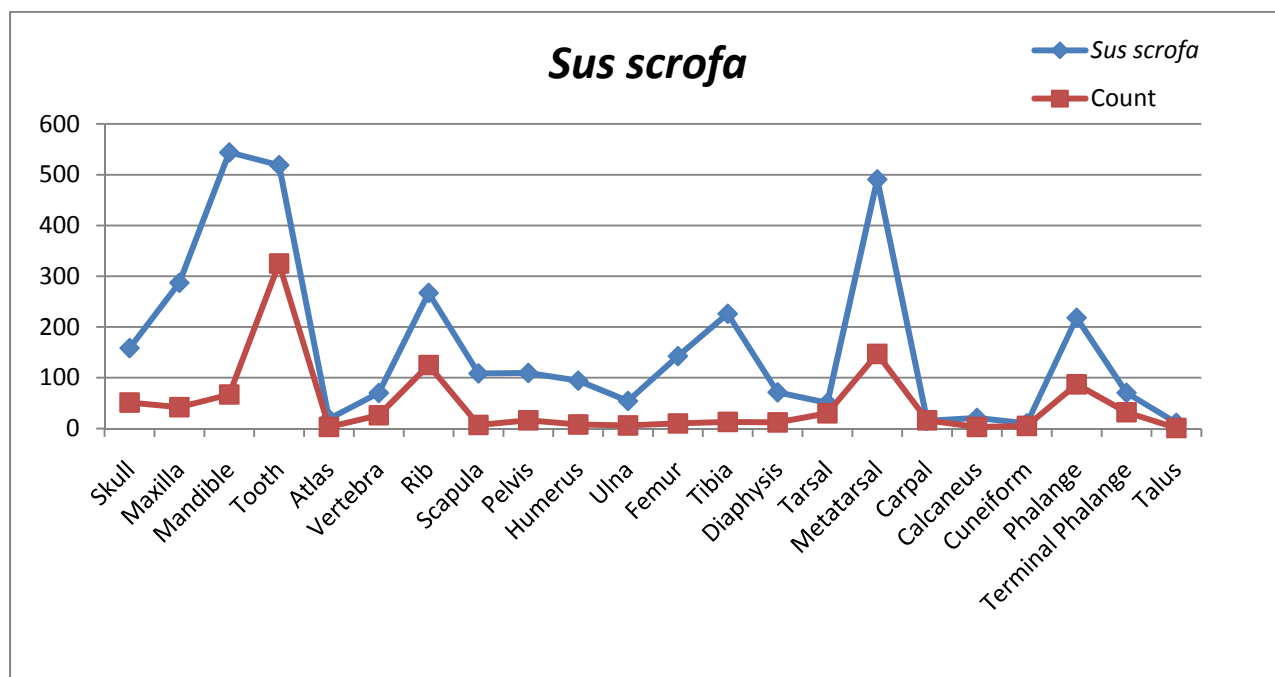
About 120 pounds of meat can be harvested from an average 200 pound pig. Pork provides a good source of thiamin and preserves well, making it a desirable source of food. In fact, during the cholera epidemic in 1849 one physician advised prominent South Carolina rice planter Charles Manigault to give his stricken slaves pork rations for its nutritional value.

Manigault, however, chose to purchase beef which was cheaper (Dusinberre, 1996, p. 182). Pigs also reproduce at a much faster rate than cows (Hacker, 1999, pp. 148-149). When considering that some slaves were allowed to possess their own animals, pigs were a more attractive species not only because of their rapid reproduction rate and subsistence on an array of items, but also because they convert more of what they eat into usable meat. Cows only convert about 1/20 of what they eat into usable meat, whereas pigs convert closer to 1/5 of what they consume, giving them a much higher rate of return (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 294).

The hind-leg and loin along with the shoulder were considered the better portions of the pig. Differing from today's ideals, in the early 19th century, the spare-ribs were considered undesirable to some people due to the lack of meat upon them as they were "so tedious to pick" and "seldom seen on good American tables..." (Leslie, 1857, p. 217). Figure 9 illustrates a 19th century butchering pattern for a pig. It seems that many planters held the notion that the fattier meat was better for slave workers than lean meat. Slaves were typically rationed "bacon" which could refer to meat from the sides (side-meat), shoulders, and joints. Hilliard points out that which portions of the pig went to slaves depended on whether or not the planters resided at the plantation and whether or not the animals were raised and slaughtered there or purchased by the barrel (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 57-58). Doar included smoked bacon in a list of weekly rations for slaves working on his family's rice plantation. He lists a weekly ration as typically containing "corn or rice, sometimes potatoes, smoked bacon, molasses, salt and tobacco, and these were issued in amounts to suit the size of the family" (Doar, 1936, p. 32).

Pork was thought to be ideal for those performing arduous work like slaves but too difficult to digest for refined southern white females (Hilliard, 1972, p. 63). Planters typically preferred the more desirable cuts from the shoulders, hams, and tenderloin (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 296). Otto found that pig was more prominent at the slave cabin than at the planter's kitchen whereas beef outnumbered pig at both sites in bone weight. He was able to identify elements such as teeth, maxilla, dentarys, phalanges, tarsals, skull, vertebrae, ribs, calcanei, scapulae, fibulae, and radii as coming from the slave cabin site. He surmised that this meant "they were using the jowls, heads, backbones, shoulders, the lower legs, and the side meat" (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 332-333). Femur fragments were not found at the slave cabin but were identified in the planter's kitchen refuse; Otto determined that perhaps those parts of the pig may have been saved for the planter. Moore also found that pork was a staple in the diets of the slaves at the Jones Creek site, which in that case was purchased by the barrel (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 226).

Table 4. *Sus scrofa* elements present by gram weight and count.

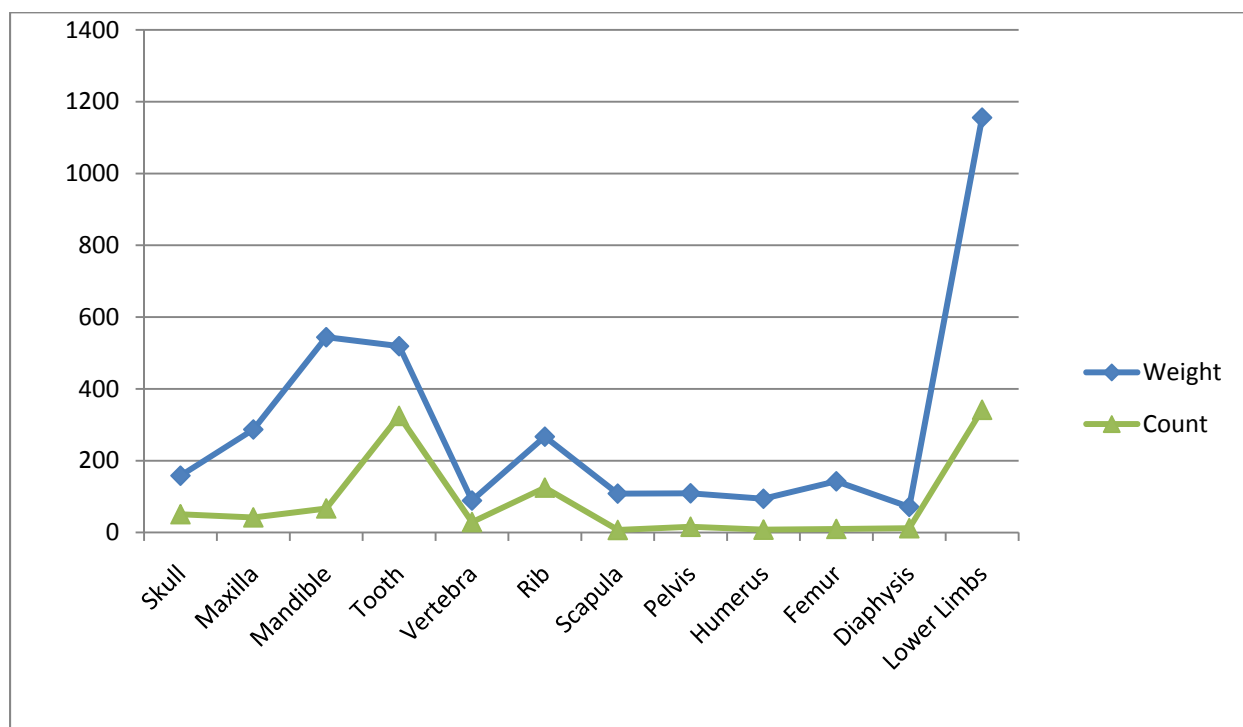


The faunal remains from Mont Repose include 1,038 fragments from *Sus scrofa* with a total gram weight of 3,558.82, contributing 24.03 percent overall. The minimum number of individuals was estimated to be at least six and the biomass contribution was 41,320 grams of meat equaling 24.25 percent from the site. Of the identifiable fragments, it appears that the largest mammal contributors to the diet on the Mont Repose plantation were the cow and pig, as the pig comes a close second to the cow in biomass contribution. *Sus scrofa* was found in all eight units used in this research and was among levels 2 and 3. All zones, A through D were represented as well.

Table 4 represents a breakdown of all the elements recovered belonging to *Sus scrofa*. The most numerous fragments are from the skull and mandible, along with bones from the lower limbs which include tarsals, metatarsals, and phalanges. Perhaps Table 5 gives a better

visual representation of the presence of bones from the lower limbs. These bones were categorized as those from the ulna, radius, tibia, and all bones from the tarsals, metatarsals and phalanges. Fragments categorized as “diaphysis” could come from any one of the long bones, which is why they were not grouped with any specific element or with lower limbs. Table 5 represents a substantial amount of lower limb bones as well as those from the head, which includes teeth. One consideration to be made is that bones from the lower limbs and head are numerous in the *Sus scrofa* skeleton, contributing to their abundant presence in the faunal remains from Mont Repose.

Table 5. *Sus scrofa* Elements with lower limbs combined, by gram weight and count.



Comparatively, a 4% biomass contribution was made by pigs at the Rouplemond plantation, with a total gram bone weight of 83,940.00 (Hacker, 1999, p. 149). The Jones Creek

slave settlement contributed 306.3 grams (9.4 percent) of pig skeletal material which had a total biomass contribution of 936.0 grams (8 percent). An estimated 19 pigs were present in the Jones Creek assemblage. The Pike's Bluff site contained 228.1 grams (7.9 percent) and offered a biomass of 565.0 grams (9.79 percent) from at least eight individuals. Differences can be seen in the Sinclair kitchen site and the Sinclair slave house with total pig biomass contributions of 340.0 grams (4.7 percent) and 261.0 grams (12.7 percent) respectively. The kitchen site at Sinclair yielded 183.7 grams (4.1 percent) of bone weight from at least six individuals. The Sinclair slave house on the other hand contained 49.3 grams (8.8 percent) of skeletal fragments from at least three individuals (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171, 174, 235).

The slave cabin at Cannon's Point yielded 60 pig skeletal fragments which weighed 86.5 grams (18.2 percent) contributed by a minimum of 3 individuals. The Couper's kitchen site contained 61 specimens weighing 170.0 grams (8.1 percent) derived from at least five individuals (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 311, 315). Although the total number of specimens for each site is almost exact, the weights of the bones are quite different. Notice the skeletal fragments from the Couper's kitchen site weighed twice as much as those from the slave site. Although the planter's kitchen site contained double the pig bone in weight, it made up only 8.1 percent overall from the site whereas pig from the slave site contributed 18.2 percent of bone weight overall.

Sus scrofa played an important role in the diets of both planter and slave at all of the sites reviewed. Evidence seems to point to the pig being more vital to the slaves as can be seen when examining the percent of skeletal remains belonging to pig from each site. At each site

pig makes up a larger percentage of the overall diet for the slaves versus the planter. This is most likely due to the occurrence of rationing pork to slaves. Considering 24.03 percent of the skeletal remains at Mont Repose were from pig, it was a major contributor to everyone's diet on the plantation.

***Ovis aries* (Sheep)**

Although no sheep remains were identified from the Mont Repose assemblage, sheep do appear on an inventory list for the Gillison's. In fact an 1850 inventory of the Estate of Samuel R. Gillison, Sr. listed 237 sheep and in his last will and testament he referenced "25 head of sheep" (Bluffton Historical Society, 1996, pp. 50-51; Gillison S. R., 1862). These references do not specifically state the location of the sheep as it should be kept in mind that the Gillison's owned more than one plantation. It does however help to determine the availability of certain animals such as sheep to the family. As to why no remains could be identified as sheep occurred for various reasons. As Hilliard points out, "There was a substantial need for wool, and sheep were kept for that purpose, but few American farmers ever looked upon sheep as a major food animal" (Hilliard, 1972, p. 141). Also, sheep were not as valuable in the south where due to warmer temperatures, wool was not a necessary commodity. With other large domestic animals such as cow and pig being present, it is possible the sheep often lost the competition for valuable resources such as land and food on southern plantations. Sheep were not much help as work animals and tended to be easy targets for internal parasites and wild predators such as dogs and wolves (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 141-143; Reitz & Scarry, 1985, p. 71).

This is not meant to conclude that sheep were not being consumed as there are references to higher status southerners consuming lamb and mutton. In her 1838 writings describing her visits to a coastal Georgia plantation which produced rice and cotton, Fanny Kemble makes several references to consuming mutton. She describes the frequent encounters she had with mutton upon the dinner table and her likeness for it (Kemble, 1864, p. 148). Ms. Kemble also makes several references to the butchering processes and preparation of sheep. Hilliard makes reference to another Georgia coastal plantation, Rosedew, which slaughtered lambs on a weekly basis to be sold at market (Hilliard, 1972, p. 46).

Sheep remains were recovered from the Roupelmond main house and slave settlement sites. Only one fragment was identified from the Main House, weighing 10 grams and contributing 90 grams of meat according to biomass calculations. Among the slave settlement faunal assemblage, 85 fragments were identified as sheep. These fragments weighed a total of 250 grams and contributed 4,630 grams of meat and came from at least 8 individuals. At the Roupelmond sites, sheep was a small contributor of meat, comprising only 2 percent of the overall biomass (Hacker, 1999, p. 153).

The Cannon's Point slave cabin yielded only 10 sheep bone fragments which weighed 43.0 grams. The estimated two individuals made a 9.1 percent bone weight contribution for the site. The Couper's kitchen site at Cannon's Point contained 63 bone fragments identified as sheep. The 63 fragments weighed a total of 200.70 grams which made a 9.5 percent contribution of the overall bone weight. The minimum number of individuals was determined to be five (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 311, 315).

Of the five sites reviewed that were excavated and researched by Moore, only one of those yielded sheep remains. The Pike's Bluff faunal assemblage contained what was determined to be ovis or capra (sheep or goat) as the difference between the two is difficult to determine by examining skeletal material (Reitz & Scarry, 1985, p. 71). These remains weighed only 52.80 grams and contributed 970 grams of biomass, offering only 1.7 percent of the overall biomass for the Pike's Bluff site.

In what capacity the Gillisons were using sheep is not clear at this time. It is possible they were harvesting the wool for trade or use. Perhaps the Gillisons were raising the sheep for trade at market. It will be necessary to revisit the use of sheep at Mont Repose upon completing the faunal analysis of all bones recovered from the site.

***Equus caballus* (horse)**

It is important to mention that two teeth were recovered which belonged to *Equus caballus* or more commonly referred to as a horse. These teeth were found among the faunal material considered to be food remains however it cannot be surmised at this time whether or not this horse was consumed by the site occupants. No other remains were identified as belonging to a horse, making conclusions difficult. The horse teeth were found in two separate units and at different levels. Unit N808 E800 contained one horse tooth at level 3 zone D. Unit N808 E802 contained the other tooth at level 2 zone D.

No accounts have been recovered referring to anyone on coastal plantations consuming horse meat unless perhaps in a time of famine. It was not considered to be a normal practice at the time to eat horse meat. Perhaps further examination of the unsorted faunal material or

those to be recovered in the future, from this site may yield more accurate conclusions regarding the horse teeth.

***Gallus gallus* (chicken)**

Chickens, like the pig and cow, were valuable on a plantation for more than just the meat they provided for consumption as they also provided eggs which could be eaten or sold for extra income. While only 16 fragments, with a total gram weight of 6.40, were positively identified as belonging to *Gallus gallus*, it is highly likely that many more fragments recovered actually belong to chicken. The minimum number of individuals was determined to be only one with a biomass contribution of 111 grams. Many more fragments were placed into the “medium bird” category and very likely belong to the *Gallus gallus* category. The medium bird category is comprised of 63 bone fragments with a total gram weight of 26.20. The minimum number of individuals is 3 with a biomass contribution of 399 grams from the medium bird group. Some egg shell fragments were also recovered which most likely came from chicken eggs. Chicken was found in five of the eight units used in this research and was among Levels 2 and 3. Within Level 2, only Zone D contained chicken fragments whereas Zones A, B, and C were represented within Level 3. Units N806 E802, N808 E804, and N810 E798 did not contain skeletal material identified as chicken.

Although today for many people living in the Southern portion of the United States, chicken is almost a daily item of feast; the same was not the case during Samuel Gillison’s lifetime. In her cook book, Eliza Leslie only quickly mentions spring chickens and for the most part deems them delicacies that are too expensive, providing little meat. In fact, she refers to

anyone who would waste their time or money on spring chickens must be invalids and would fare better by waiting for a full grown plump fowl. Leslie quickly moves on from recipes for fried, fricasseed, broiled, and stewed chicken to listing recipes for other fowl such as ducks, turkeys, and geese (Leslie, 1857, pp. 265-266). Hilliard confirms Leslie's thoughts towards chicken by stating that "Poultry was regarded as a semiluxury item and the implications of the term 'chicken on Sunday' probably were accurate" (Hilliard, 1972, p. 46). Typically chicken was served to visitors on a plantation. Younger chickens were better for frying while the older non-egg laying hens were usually considered tough and were boiled or roasted after which the carcass could be used for pies or dumplings. The eggs produced during the summer were a tasty change from the usual diet of pork and could be used in many dishes such as breads and cakes (Hilliard, 1972, p. 47).

There were not a lot of *Gallus gallus* fragments identified from Cannon's Point in Otto's research. In fact from the slave cabin site only 5 bone fragments were identified as chicken weighing 8.8 grams (1.9%) and 3 minimum numbers of individuals making up 4.4% overall. The Couper's kitchen at Cannon's Point did not offer many more chicken fragments with a total count of only 6 weighing 5.5 grams (0.3%) and 3 minimum number of individuals, only 1.7% of all individuals. It appears that chicken was not a major contributor to the diet, be it slave or planter, at Cannon's Point. From the slave cabin there were 137 unidentified bird fragments with a total weight of 25 grams. The Couper family kitchen site contained 266 total unidentified bird fragments weighing 37.6 grams. No other species of bird was identified at either site at the Cannon's Point plantation (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 311-312, 315-316).

At Pike's Bluff, Moore found a total gram weight of 9.6 and biomass contribution of 105 grams (1.8% of the total contribution) from *Gallus gallus*. The Sinclair site revealed a gram weight of 13.8 and biomass contribution of 1.37 from chicken. Interestingly, the slave house from the Sinclair site has only 0.6 grams of bone weight and 150 grams biomass that were contributed by chicken. From the Jones Creek settlement, *Gallus gallus* contributed 7.2 grams of the faunal material with a biomass contribution of 1,310.0 grams (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171, 174, 235). At the Roupelmond plantation site, no bone fragments were identified as belonging to *Gallus gallus*. Instead, quite a few were categorized as *Meleagris gallopavo* commonly known as the wild turkey. Also at Roupelmond, 33 bones were labeled as unidentified bird (Hacker, 1999, p. 150).

It was not uncommon for slaves to be allowed to keep poultry, most often chickens and often times they provided their master with the birds or their eggs. Some plantation owners such as Charles Manigault felt that letting his slaves possess chickens was a privilege and was his way of "granting them a tiny stake in society" (Dusinberre, 1996, p. 182). He also felt that raising chickens gave them comfort and made them more attached to their homes (Dusinberre, 1996, p. 182). Hilliard also refers to the slave privilege of raising and trading chickens, a privilege that could be revoked in times of bad behavior. He also suggests that often times the slave's poultry was sold or bartered rather than being eaten (Hilliard, 1972, p. 149).

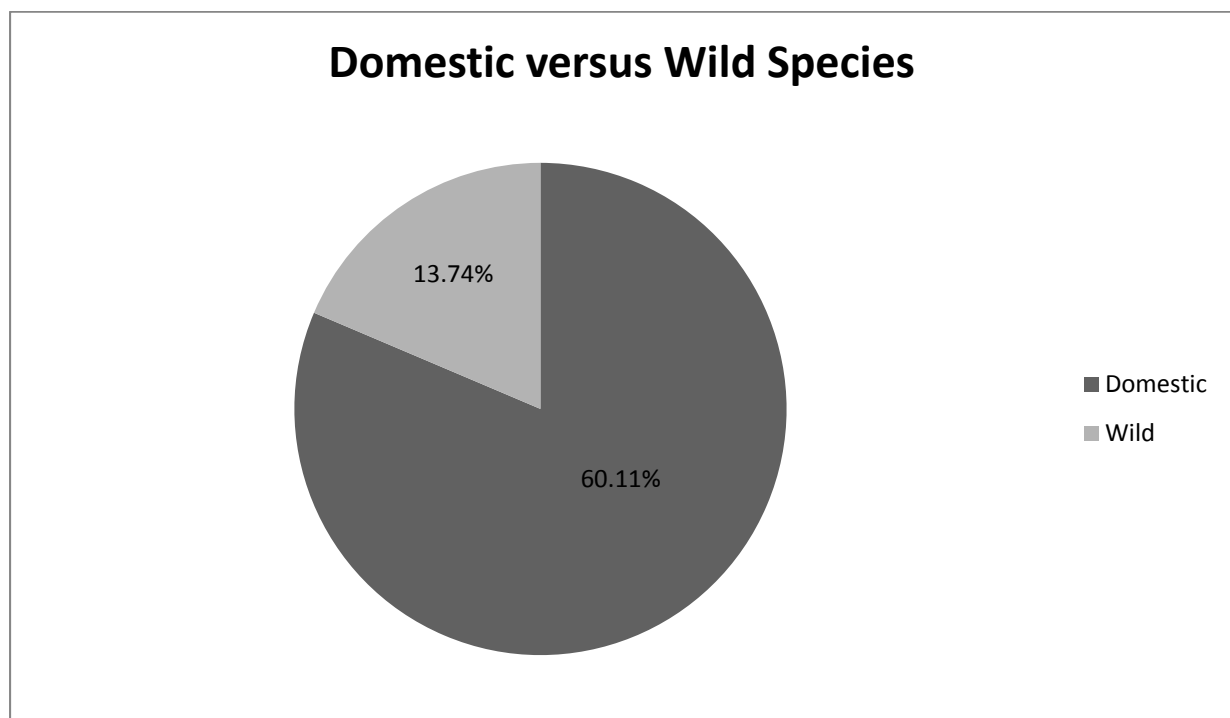
Gallus gallus does not appear to have been a major contributor to any of the coastal plantation sites reviewed. One explanation could be that they were valued more for their eggs and trade value. Perhaps their vulnerability to predators such as skunks, hawks, and foxes made

them difficult to keep (Hilliard, 1972, p. 146). It should also be kept in mind that perhaps the bone fragments from any bird species are less dense and more fragile than larger mammals and may not have preserved as well.

Wild versus domestic species

Previous studies have found that sites typically associated with slaves had more domestic species represented versus a planter site, which often has more wild species represented.

Table 6. Domestic versus wild species by gram weight.



Moore and Otto both point out in their research that the reason for more domestic species being found at slave sites is related to the slave issuance of rations (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 161; Otto J. S., 1975, p. 291). Table 6 gives a visual representation of how the identifiable faunal

remains were categorized either into domestic or wild species from the Mont Repose site. A total gram weight of 8,902.88 (60.11 percent) resulted from the domestic assemblage where as a total gram weight of 2,035.5 (13.74 percent) was contributed by wild species. Contributing to the domestic category are cow, pig, horse, and chicken. Included in the wild species total gram weight are remains from deer, raccoon, opossum, squirrel, rabbit, turkey, all testudines, all osteichthyes, and all reptiles. Categories that were not included are large mammal, medium mammal, small mammal, unidentified mammal, and unidentified bird as it is impossible to know if fragments from these groups are domestic or wild.

As a whole, wild game was featured at many meals be it slave or master. Previous studies have shown that an increase in wild species is found at food sites related to planters. Otto and Moore both found this to be the case in their research. Free whites typically had a more varied diet than did slaves. This is because planters often had more time to hunt, and found it pleasurable to eat more exotic species. Often times, if the man power were available, the planter would appoint slaves to hunt and fish in order to provide various wild creatures for the planter and his family (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 307). In fact, according to David Doar, slaves whose task it was to mind the trunks had another job during the winter which was to furnish the planter's table with ducks and fish (Doar, 1936, p. 30). It was common for European travelers to write about "the abundance of game and fish on Southern tables" and as Otto found one source to note, "...hog meat had serious rivals in the furred and feathered creatures of the forests and in the seafood from the streams, lakes, and coasts" (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 288).

While excavating the Sinclair planter's kitchen site, a coastal cotton plantation occupied prior to the Civil War, Moore found that it contained a greater diversity in species when compared to the slave cabins. Domestic species utilized at the planter's kitchen site included cow, pig, and chicken whereas wild species included raccoon, opossum, rabbit, turkey, and a variety of bird, turtle, and fish. Comparatively, the slave sites contained the same domestic species along with some of the same wild species but did not display near the variety as the planter's kitchen (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 161, 171-172, 174). Moore also excavated a slave settlement at Jones Creek, a coastal plantation which was most likely dedicated to producing cotton during the early 19th century. By bone weight, this site resulted in a display of 62.7 percent domestic animal remains and only 14.2 percent non-domestic remains. Although it was found that pig and cow made up the majority of the domestic faunal material at Jones Creek, pork was considered a staple whereas beef was given infrequently (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 163, 226). Moore concluded by the examination of these sites a lower percentage of domestic species were found at higher status sites and displayed material from the more desirable cuts of meat. The higher status sites also revealed an increase in the exploitation of a wider diversity of wild species. The opposite seemed evident from the faunal material of slave related sites, as they were consuming more domestic animals with lower quality cuts of meat. It appears that slaves from these sites, while consuming some wild species, were not doing so on as large a scale with as much variety as the planter families (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 318). It should be noted that in her research, Moore pointed out that some larger plantations may have had the resources to designate a slave specifically for hunting and fishing duties which would contribute more wild species to both the planter and the slaves. The smaller plantations with fewer slaves

may not have been afforded this luxury therefore revealing fewer wild species being consumed especially by the slaves (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 320).

Evidence of slave related sites being dominated by domestic species was also found in Otto's research at Cannon's Point. Non-domestic species represented 90 percent of the sample from the planter's kitchen site. A smaller representation of non-domestic species was found at the slave cabin, totaling 82 percent. Otto acknowledged that slaves commonly added variety to their diet by consuming fish and small wild mammals, typically those which could be more easily caught using traps such as rabbits, raccoons, and opossums. However, as he also notes, the Couper family designated a slave with the task of hunting and fishing in order to supplement the family's diet (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 306-308).

Examples of more wild species being found on the Couper family's table are evident through examination of the identifiable skeletal remains from each Cannon's Point Plantation site. Deer, marine turtle, and alligator remains were found only at the planter's kitchen site. Turtle comprised 25 percent of the overall bone weight from the kitchen and only 13 percent at the slave dwelling site. There was not as much variation in the amount of fish found at each site and in fact slightly more was found at the slave cabin site. The planter's kitchen site contained 61 percent of total fish individuals while the slave cabin site had 63 percent. However, the slave cabin site contained a less diverse population of fish with only 14 species represented. The planter's kitchen site contained at least 19 identifiable fish species (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 311-316, 335, 347, 354). Basically, whether or not slaves ate wild animals depended upon their having the time to procure them.

In his conclusion Otto determined that marked differences could be found regarding faunal remains from each site when compared to the social status of the occupants from these sites. A more diverse species population was expected and found at the site of higher status individuals than that of lower status individuals (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 361). Perhaps it was due to the planter having more leisure time for fishing and hunting, especially large game, or possibly a wealthier planter had the means to employ a slave with hunting and fishing duties.

Wild species are considered to be those that were not domesticated, sheltered, or fed by the inhabitants within the plantation boundaries. Wild species such as deer would have to be sought after most commonly with the assistance of firearms. Other favored wild species include birds such as the turkey, opossum, raccoon, rabbits, turtles, and fish all of which were a welcome respite from the monotonous pig and cow.

***Odocoileus virginianus* (Deer)**

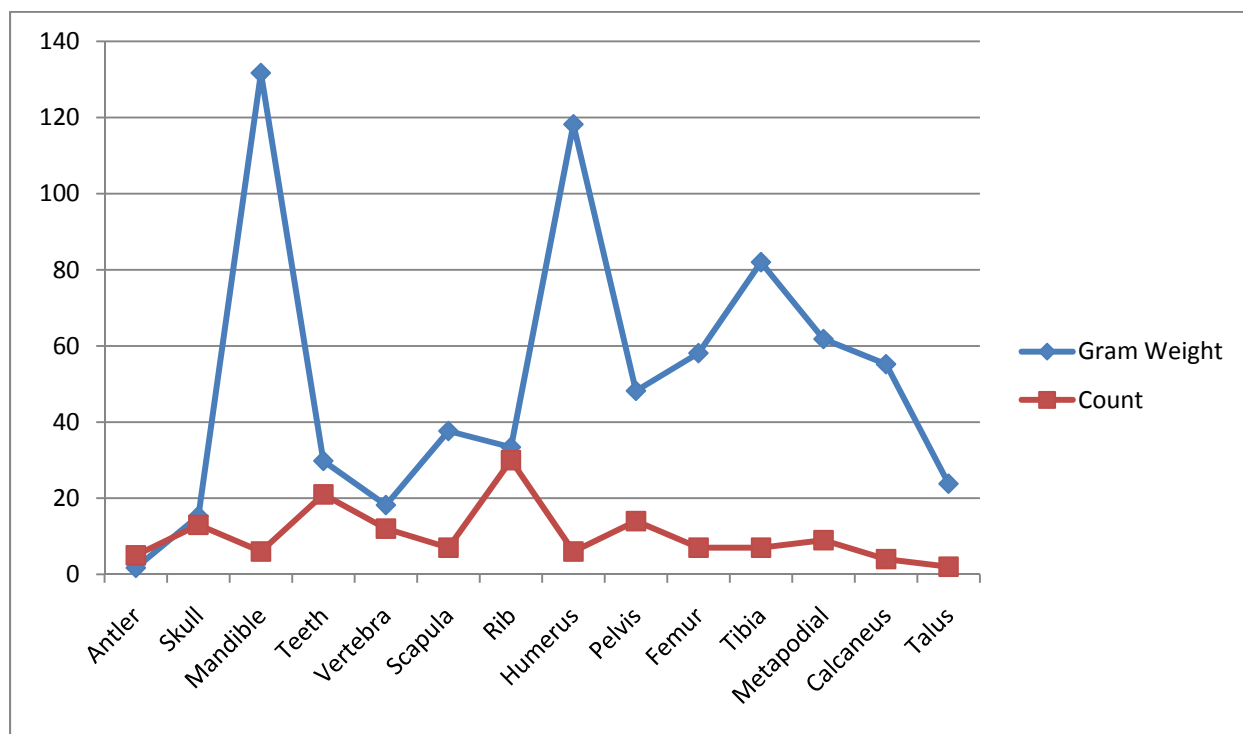
The ever resilient whitetail deer was an important source of food to Europeans as soon as they arrived in North America. Deer were also valued for their hides which were used, traded, and sold by Native American Indians as well as the encroaching Europeans. Some scientists estimate the numbers of whitetail deer in North America before European arrival at nearly 40 million. By the early 1900s the deer population had plunged to a mere half million (Petersen, 1985). Hilliard also notes that it is well known that deer were commonly hunted and “utilized by the entire population, Indian, Negro, and white” which ultimately caused some decline of deer in the South (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 76-77). With the use of firearms, the ever

expanding agricultural use of land, and population increases, the deer population fell somewhat during the mid and late 19th century (Hilliard, 1972, p. 77).

There is no doubt that the whitetail deer was being exploited at Mont Repose due to the 143 fragments recovered thus far. The total weight of the deer remains is 776.05 grams, totaling 5.24 percent overall, which would have contributed approximately 10,483 grams of meat according to biomass calculations. The minimum number of individuals was calculated to be at least three which means *Odocoileus virginianus* contributed about 4.47 percent of the total individuals for this site. Deer was found in all eight units used in this research and was among levels 2 and 3. Only zones A, B, and D contained deer remains, however all zones, A through D were represented in Level 3.

Similar to bone fragments from other mammals at this site very few display butcher marks or evidence of burning. Only eight fragments weighing 73.9 grams reveal signs of butchering. One vertebra was recovered that appears to have been completely cut in half. Five fragments weighing 18.5 grams exhibit evidence of burning, of which five came from the same unit, level and zone (N808 E800 Level 3, Zone D). It is quite possible that these remains were burned after being deposited in the location from which they were recovered. At least nine fragments weighing 38.0 grams have unfused epiphyses indicating the deer that produced those remains was at a young age.

Table 7. *Odocoileus virginianus* elements present by gram weight and count.



As Table 7 reflects, virtually all elements of the deer are represented in the faunal remains with teeth and ribs being the most numerous fragments present. The high number of rib and teeth fragments can be attributable to the fact that these are quite numerous in the skeleton even prior to butchering and fragmentation. Mandible and humerus fragments contribute the most weight. All six of the humerus fragments were from the distal portion and of which only one displayed butcher marks. None of the faunal remains from Mont Repose were identified as deer phalanges. This could mean they were not present or it could be due to confusion with *Sus scrofa* phalanges as they are quite similar in appearance.

Some accounts of early 19th century deer hunting involve a group of gun toting white men on horseback with a pack of hounds and a few slaves to help with the chase and recovery of their prey. Although in some instances hunting deer was done as a means to provide extra

meat, it was often a sport reserved for the more elite members of society. In his memoirs documenting hunting and fishing practices in the South Carolina low country, General William Elliott gives an account of pursuing a deer with the assistance of a pack of dogs and two slaves, which he refers to as “whippers, or drivers as we call them” (Elliott, 1867, p. 171). He joyously narrates a day of hunting that ended with the firing of his double barrel shotgun, injuring the deer then chasing it on horseback and finally slipping a knife into the throat of the animal. According to Elliott, a good day of hunting resulted in the taking of several deer (Elliott, 1867, p. 173).

Recipes for venison can be found in Leslie’s cookery book as she points out that deer are best when fat and juicy after feeding on wild berries. Venison during the winter, she adds, is not worth eating. Like many other recipes, Leslie instructs the chef to use the meat with the bones to season dishes, especially soups which are “very convenient for a new settlement” (Leslie, 1857, pp. 57, 67-68).

At Cannon’s Point the only faunal remains belonging to deer which Otto recovered were at the planter’s kitchen. The total number of fragments was only four weighing 23.4 grams and a minimum of one individual (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 315, 354). Moore found that deer made a small contribution to the planter’s family at Pike’s Bluff with a total weight of 36 grams, two minimum number of individuals and a biomass contribution of 1,120 grams. At the Sinclair kitchen site there were more deer remains which weighed 151.1 grams and an increase of individuals totaling at least five. The biomass contribution was 4.1 percent at the Sinclair kitchen site. The slave house site at Sinclair offered a total of 7.6 grams of skeletal material

with a minimum of one individual. The total biomass for the slave house site was 650 grams of meat which was 3.2 percent overall. The Sinclair main house revealed only 4.4 grams of deer remains from one individual, which was a 5.9 percent biomass contribution to the main house site. The Jones Creek slave settlement site contained a minimum of three individuals with fragments totaling 17 grams which would have been only 0.9 percent of the overall contribution (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171, 174, 175, 235). Findings from Otto and Moore point to more venison being found on the planter's tables rather than those of the slaves.

Conversely at the Roupelmond plantation site 68 bones belonging to deer were identified which contributed about 9,000 grams of meat, which is 4 percent of the overall biomass for the site (Hacker, 1999, p. 150). From the Roupelmond site, 67 deer bone fragments were found at the slave settlement, leaving only one having been found at the main house site. Deer remains were the only ones found at the slave settlement that originated from a wild species that could not be caught by using traps. Hacker and Trinkley acknowledge that it is possible that the planter received the better cuts with poorer cuts being given to the slaves. The deer was the only wild species found at the main house site at Roupelmond (Hacker, 1999, pp. 153, 154). Because only 209 bone fragments were discovered at the main house while 3,530 bone fragments came from the slave settlement, it is possible that a kitchen site would reveal more of what the planter was eating at Roupelmond.

Venison seems to be more frequently found in relation to the planter family but in times of surplus could be given to slaves. Because slaves were not always allowed guns or the time for hunting, they were less likely to acquire deer. Considering the lack of edible meat on the leg of

a deer, it is possible those portions were used for little other than possibly seasoning soup stocks. Either way, hunting deer proved to result in a bulky payoff of meat in the event one could be obtained; making them worth the efforts spent pursuing them.

Aves (bird)

***Meleagris gallopavo* (Turkey)**

Turkeys, both wild and domestic, are among the many bird species that were typically exploited by coastal South Carolina plantation inhabitants. In fact according to Hilliard, it was common to find turkeys along with chickens being kept on most plantations, especially larger land holdings. Poultry as a whole offered a nice change in diet from the usual beef and pork. Frequently found on the planter's table, poultry was considered somewhat of a delicacy and was often prepared for special visitors. Domesticated turkeys also offered eggs and could be prepared on fairly short notice. Turkeys on many plantations were regarded as highly as chickens. Wild turkeys, which could be easily obtained by using traps, were almost as popular as deer and rabbit among wild species. Wild turkeys were sought after and relished by slaves and white planters (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 46-47, 80-81, 145, 148).

Researchers seem to agree that distinguishing a wild versus domestic turkey by examining skeletal remains is possible, though difficult. Also, as noted in the Roupelmond report, another difficulty in distinguishing between the two arises from the possibility that many turkeys consumed on plantations were simply wild turkeys that had been caught and tamed (Hacker, 1999, p. 151).

References to turkeys can be found many times in the letters of Robert F. W. Allston, who owned four rice plantations in the South Carolina low country. In one letter to his wife, he writes of sending to her “10 young turkeys 2 old ones for Nightingale Hall” (Allston & Easterby, 2004, p. 195). Nightingale Hall was a plantation Allston owned but did not reside on; making it possible he was sending the two older turkeys for his overseer and slaves to consume. In another letter he refers to awaiting turkey eggs (Allston & Easterby, 2004, p. 154). These are examples of how valued turkeys and their eggs were to one South Carolina plantation.

At Mont Repose turkeys were undoubtedly consumed considering 108 fragments weighing a total of 72.44 grams, 0.49 percent, were identified as *Meleagris gallopavo*. A total of two individuals present could be determined which was 2.98 percent overall. The contribution of meat from these skeletal remains would have been 1,006 grams. None of the turkey remains found at the site exhibited butcher marks or evidence of burning. The skeletal material belonging to *Meleagris gallopavo* was found scattered throughout seven units in Levels 2 and 3. Within Level 2, only zone D contained turkey skeletal remains while all zones, A through D were represented within Level 3. Only one unit used in this research, N806 E802, did not contain turkey skeletal fragments.

Surprisingly, Otto did not identify any turkey skeletal material at any of the Cannon's Point sites. Similarly, the Roupelmond plantation yielded no turkey remains at the main house, but did have 37 fragments at the slave settlement site. A minimum of three individuals was determined with a biomass contribution of 750 gram, 34 percent overall (Hacker, 1999, p. 153).

Mixed results were found at the Sinclair site, with both the slave house and main house yielding no identifiable *Meleagris gallopavo* remains. The Jones Creek slave settlement also contained no identifiable turkey bone fragments. However, at the Sinclair kitchen site 1.7 grams of turkey skeletal material was unearthed making a biomass contribution of 230 grams, 0.3 percent overall. Only one individual was determined to be present at the Sinclair kitchen. *Meleagris gallopavo* was also found at the Pike's Bluff site with a minimum of one individual present. The fragments totaled 23.0 grams and offered 640 grams of meat according to biomass calculations, 1.1 percent overall (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171).

Although some of these sites yielded no identifiable skeletal fragments belonging to *Meleagris gallopavo*, it is feasible to consider that they are present in the category of "unidentified." It is clear to see that turkeys contributed to the diets of many plantation inhabitants and certainly had a presence at Mont Repose.

Aves Unidentified (UID)

The unidentified Aves skeletal remains far outnumber the identifiable bird bones at Mont Repose. This seems to be a common trend among sites containing Aves remains. Otto found 266 unidentified Aves remains, weighing 37.6 grams at the Couper's kitchen site and 137 at the slave cabin site, which weighed 25 grams (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 312, 316). Unidentified Aves skeletal fragments were found at each of the sites Moore excavated. Pike's Bluff contained 20.1 grams unidentified Aves remains, the Sinclair kitchen had 46.8 grams, the Sinclair slave house had 22.9 grams, the Sinclair main house had only 2.8 grams, and the Jones Creek slave settlement had 41.8 grams (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171, 174, 175, 235). At the

Roupelmond main house eight unidentified Aves fragments were found and 25 were among the slave settlement fragments (Hacker, 1999, p. 153).

The Aves faunal material from Mont Repose was identified if possible while the remains that were unidentifiable were classified into one of four categories. The categories used for the unidentified aves skeletal material were "Aves UID," "Aves Small," "Aves Medium," and "Aves Large." Out of the total 922 Aves fragments, 61 were unidentified (UID) and weighed 21.10 grams. The estimated biomass contribution was calculated to be 327.0 grams.

The unidentified small Aves category from the Mont Repose assemblage contained 656 fragments which weighed 106.80 grams. These small birds contributed about 1,432 grams of meat according to biomass calculations. Bones classified as small bird were recovered from all units. From these units, Zone D was represented within Level 2 while all zones A through D within Level 3 contained small bird remains. The unidentified small bird category could include birds such as partridge, dove, golden plover, woodcock or snipe. These suggestions arise from William Elliott's accounts of hunting and consuming them in the South Carolina low country. Elliott goes on to describe the best locations and most ideal times of year to hunt these birds (Elliott, 1867, p. 270). Eliza Leslie gives preparation instructions for small birds such as quail, pigeon, partridge, woodcocks, and snipes (Leslie, 1857). The small birds Elliott and Leslie discuss in their books are just a few examples of the types of small birds typically consumed along coastal South Carolina and are listed for consideration.

Medium Aves remains that were unidentified from Mont Repose numbered 63 and weighed 26.20 grams. These remains would have contributed 399 grams of meat. Only one of

the units used in this research did not contain any bird remains in the “small” category. Unit N808 E798 was void of small bird remains, as well as Zone A within Level 2. Zones B, C, and D contained small bird fragments as did all Zones A through D within Level 3. Birds of medium size that could be considered for this category are chickens, pheasants, ducks, and geese. As Hilliard points out, “ducks and geese were less common than chickens. Such birds had the added attraction of offering down for pillows and mattresses...” (Hilliard, 1972, p. 148). Ducks and geese did not provide eggs in a volume comparable to chickens and were also more susceptible to predators (Hilliard, 1972, p. 148). Elliott describes the various types of ducks that visit South Carolina and adds that “the rice, which has shelled in the field during harvest” is an enticing food source for these ducks (Elliott, 1867, p. 275). Other than chicken, Leslie gives recipes for medium size birds such as the pheasant, duck and goose (Leslie, 1857).

The large bird category contained 18 fragments weighing 11.60 grams. It appears at least two individuals are present in these remains which contributed 190 grams of meat. Only units N808 E798, N808 E800, N808 E802, and N810 E800 contained fragments identified as “large” bird. No unidentified large bird fragments were identified within Level 2 for any of the units and within Level 3 only Zones A, B, and C were represented. The large bird category most likely contains fragments from turkey and large goose whose importance has already been discussed.

Aves skeletal remains pose a difficult task when attempting to identify by species. Because the skeleton of a bird is made for flight, the long bones are far less dense than those of mammals, causing them to be more delicate and possibly decay at a faster rate and emerge in a

more fragmented state if visible at all. At Mont Repose birds small and large appeared at more than one meal considering the 3,465 grams of meat provided by the fragments examined. It would seem more likely for the planter and family to be consuming the wild bird species. Hunting them would have taken more time than slaves had to sacrifice and was often a leisurely sport for the more elite.

Small wild mammals

***Didelphus virginianus* (Opossum)**

Didelphus virginianus, or more commonly known as opossum, was not uncommon to planters or slaves in the 18th and 19th centuries. They were eagerly sought by whites and fried or roasted and served with sweet potatoes (Hilliard, 1972, p. 47). Both opossums and raccoons are nocturnal and usually hunted by predators, including humans, at night. Their nocturnal nature made them easier for slaves working in the field during the day to hunt at night. Opossums tend to be more numerous and are easier than raccoons to catch without the use of firearms, especially upon fainting and thus appearing dead as they are famous for. The meat from opossums was considered favorable to that of raccoon which was thought to be stringy and tough. Both white planters and slaves liked to consume opossums and commonly brought them home by the sacks full. Because they are scavengers that eat decaying flesh, it was common to keep opossums long enough to fatten and clean them out by feeding them potatoes, milk, and bread (Hilliard, 1972, p. 80).

At the Mont Repose site a total of 58 skeletal fragments belonging to *Didelphus virginianus* were recovered which weighed a total of 59.60 grams. There are at least two

opossum individuals present, which contributes 2.98 percent of the overall total individuals. From these remains, a total biomass of 1,042 grams was supplied by the opossum. Opossum was found in seven of the eight units used in this research, the exception being N808 E798, and was among levels 2 and 3. All zones, A through D were represented as well. None of these remains displayed butcher marks nor did they show signs of burning. Three fragments reveal unfused epiphyses, two from proximal humeri and one from a proximal femur. The lack of fused epiphyses indicates an opossum of a juvenile age. Hilliard commented that young opossums were preferred for frying while the older ones were roasted (Hilliard, 1972, p. 47). Virtually all elements are present in the faunal assemblage from the opossum skeleton.

At the Roupelmond slave settlement only one bone fragment was recovered belonging to *Didelphus virginianus* with a gram weight of 0.003 and a biomass contribution of 70 grams. No opossum skeletal remains were discovered at the main house site (Hacker, 1999, p. 153). At the Pike's Bluff site, Moore found a total of 13.2 grams of skeletal material belonging to *Didelphus virginianus*. This amounted to at least five individuals and a total biomass of 940 grams which was 1.6 percent from the site. The Sinclair kitchen site contained 4.4 grams faunal remains with a minimum of three individual opossums contributing 680 (0.9 percent overall) grams of biomass material. The Sinclair main house site did not contain any skeletal remains belonging to the opossum while the slave house at Sinclair had a minimum of two individuals with a total weight of 1.1 grams contributing a biomass of 320 grams (1.6 percent overall). Finally at the Jones Creek slave settlement the highest occurrence of opossum remains were found with a total gram weight of 20.3 representing a minimum of nine individuals present. The

total biomass for the slave settlement at Jones Creek was 2,030 grams, which was 1.7 percent of the overall biomass for the site (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171, 174, 175, 235).

At the Cannon's Point kitchen site, Otto found five identifiable skeletal remains belonging to *Didelphus virginianus* with a total gram weight of 3.0, producing only 0.1 percent overall. The minimum number of individuals was determined to be two which was 1.1 percent from this site. The slave cabin revealed more fragments than the Couper's kitchen site, with 32 total identified specimens. Opossum remains contributed 23.0 grams and 4.9 percent of the overall skeletal material from the site. At least two opossums were identified in these remains, which contributed a total percentage of 2.9 (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 311, 315).

The findings from each of these sites make it clear that *Didelphus virginianus* was being exploited by both planters and slaves. For both, they were an easier target than many other wild mammals because of their ease of capture. Many narratives from slaves reveal just how much they loved the meat of an opossum. Perhaps their degree of prominence can be found more so in the examination of the faunal material and ethnographies rather than such sources as cook books, in which they are less frequently found.

***Procyon lotor* (Raccoon)**

The raccoon seems to be discussed historically far less than opossum pertaining to the diet of planters and slaves during the 18th and 19th centuries. They were, however, consumed although due to the tough and stringy texture of the meat it was less frequently than the opossum. Again, like the opossum, the raccoon could be hunted without the use of firearms and was hunted at night because it is a nocturnal mammal, which also made it more accessible

to slaves during their time away from the field. Slaves and whites typically used dogs for hunting many mammals, including raccoons which could be made to run up a tree then taken, a sport which has survived to current day. Both raccoons and opossums could also be found for sale in city markets (Hilliard, 1972, p. 80).

The faunal assemblage from Mont Repose contained 39 identifiable *Procyon lotor* skeletal remains weighing a total of 18.0 grams. The minimum number of individuals was estimated to be two, which is 2.9 percent of the overall faunal remains. The biomass contribution was 355 grams of meat. Only one fragment contained signs of having been butchered, which was from the distal end of a baculum. No skeletal fragments belonging to *Procyon lotor* exhibited evidence of burning. Virtually all elements from the raccoon were present with the exceptions of the femur and radius. Raccoon remains were found in all eight units used in this research and was among levels 2 and 3 with a higher concentration found in level 3. Although all zones, A through D were represented, only one fragment was found in zone A.

Otto found a total of 14 raccoon skeletal fragments at the Cannon's Point slave cabin which weighed 7.4 grams, a 1.6 percent contribution from the site. He determined there were at least two individuals present, 2.9 percent overall. From the planter's kitchen site he discovered 20 raccoon bone fragments weighing a total of 16 grams, 0.8 percent. The minimum number of raccoons present at the planter's kitchen site was five, making up 2.8 percent for the site (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 311, 315). It appears slightly more raccoon was being consumed by the planter and his family than the slaves.

Among the faunal remains uncovered at the Roupelmond plantation site, raccoon was found only at the slave settlement. A total of seven fragments were identified as *Procyon lotor* weighing 0.02 grams with a minimum of two individuals present. Raccoon made a biomass contribution of 340 grams from these remains to the slave settlement which made up .15 percent overall (Hacker, 1999, p. 153).

In her excavations of various sites relating to planters and slaves on the barrier island of St. Simons, Georgia, Moore found a large amount of raccoon remains associated with one site in particular. The Jones Creek slave settlement site revealed 127.1 grams of *Procyon lotor* skeletal fragments accounting for at least 22 individuals, almost 15 percent from the site. Raccoon contributed 5.9 percent of the overall biomass with a total of 6,950 grams. Moore theorized these remains came from a structure that had once been used as a smokehouse because with this many raccoons it is likely they were salted and smoked for preservation (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 227, 235).

While there were no *Procyon lotor* skeletal fragments at the Sinclair main house or slave house sites, there was 7.9 grams representing two individuals found at the Sinclair kitchen. These remains contributed 690 grams of meat, which was .9 percent overall from the Sinclair site. The Pike's Bluff site had 16.3 grams of raccoon remains with a total of five individuals represented. These remains contributed 1,580 grams of meat which was 2.7 percent from the site (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171).

While raccoon may not have been as prevalent at the tables of many slaves or planters as the opossum, it made a contribution nonetheless. Raccoon was preyed upon to add variety

to the diets of both planter and slave. Just as tastes vary today, they did as well in the 18th and 19th centuries. Some planters and slaves may have preferred raccoon to opossum and vice versa.

***Sylvaligus floridanus* (Rabbit)**

Among small wild game, *Sylvaligus floridanus* or more commonly referred to as the rabbit, was the most popular with whites and slaves. Agricultural lands created the perfect habitat for them and provided them with an endless supply of food. Rabbits multiply rapidly and when they suffer from outbreaks of disease, they quickly rebound. Making them an attractive choice of small game is the ease in which they can be taken. A few simple rabbit boxes placed in the right location could supply a family with meat the entire winter. No firearms were needed and some hunters even chose to rouse the rabbits from their nests by clubbing them with sticks. Rabbits could be traded as well for their meat and found in markets (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 78-79). Rabbits, along with wild turkey and squirrel were good options for meat during the winter when other poultry and eggs were less frequently available (Hilliard, 1972, p. 47).

Many recipes can be found in Eliza Leslie's cookbook for rabbit dishes. She urges the cook to pursue young fat and well fed rabbits and to prepare them the day they are killed. An old hare, she says, is hard and dry when cooked. She even gives instructions for determining the quality of the rabbit by examining its ears, which should tear easily, and the claws which should be sharp. Leslie insists that more than one rabbit is necessary to make a meal and that

no small animal should be served with its head intact as it “always looks disagreeable when cooked” (Leslie, 1857, pp. 259-260).

Sylvaligus floridanus only yielded 11 fragments at Mont Repose which reached a total weight of 4.70 grams. The fragments included one individual which contributed 106 grams of biomass. These fragments were confined to only two units, N808 E802 Level 2 Zone D and N810 E802 Level 3 Zone B. None exhibited evidence of burning or butchering. Included in the skeletal fragments belonging to *Sylvaligus floridanus* were the whole elements from the palatine, calcaneus, and metatarsal. Fragments from other elements included those from a tibia, vertebra, ulna, possible rib, and the ramus from the mandible. As a whole, it does not appear that rabbit made a large contribution as a food source at Mont Repose.

The Roupelmond main house site did not contain any rabbit remains but the slave settlement did contain one. The one fragment weighed .002 grams and would have yielded 50 grams of meat according to biomass calculations (Hacker, 1999, p. 153). Otto found rabbit fragments at both the kitchen and slave cabin sites. The planter’s kitchen site yielded 19 fragments weighing 2.4 grams which was 0.1 percent overall. A minimum of three rabbits were estimated for the kitchen site which accounted for 1.7 percent. The slave cabin at Cannon’s Point had 12 skeletal fragments belonging to rabbit which weighed a total of 2.2 grams accounting for 0.5 percent of the remains. A minimum of one rabbit was present among the remains from the slave cabin (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 311, 315).

The Sinclair kitchen yielded 4.4 grams of rabbit skeletal material with a minimum of 3 individuals present, 3 percent from the site. These remains would have contributed 560 grams

of meat according to biomass calculations, which was 0.7 percent. The slave house site at Sinclair contained 1.1 grams of rabbit fragments with a minimum on two individuals, 11.8 percent. The biomass calculations suggest these remains contributed 320 grams of meat, 1.6 percent. At Pike's Bluff 3.1 grams of rabbit remains were found with a minimum number of 3 individuals (4.4 percent) and a biomass contribution of 600 grams, 1.1 percent. The main house at Sinclair offered no skeletal material belonging to the *Sylvalagus* species. The slave settlement at Jones Creek had 18.3 grams of skeletal material from *Sylvalagus* with a minimum of 7 individuals representing 4.8 percent overall. This amount of skeletal material would have yielded 2,310 grams of meat, 1.6 percent, according to biomass calculations (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 171, 174, 135, 311, 315).

Comparatively, rabbit makes contributions at all kinds of sites, be it planter or slave. Findings at other sites seem to correlate with the findings at Mont Repose. Like other small mammals it should be kept in mind that bones from rabbits may not have preserved as well as the remains from larger mammals, skewing the data to reveal fewer than were actually consumed.

***Scurius niger* (Squirrel)**

Along with the rabbit, squirrels were a popular food source on plantations among slaves and planters. They were considered slightly more difficult to prepare but superior in taste. Broths or pies made from squirrel meat were considered to be delicacies. Although squirrels abound in most coastal environments and were typically quite numerous they may not have been as sought after as rabbits. Squirrels most often required the use of firearms which were

not always available to the slave population whereas rabbits could be obtained by utilizing traps (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 47, 79).

The amount of squirrel remains was not necessarily significant at Mont Repose. Only 2 fragments were identified as *Scurius niger* which weighed .10 grams. The minimum number of individuals was determined to be one and the biomass contribution was 3.0 grams. The two fragments were from a tibia and a left femur. The femur fragment had an unfused epiphysis. Neither of the two fragments exhibited evidence of burning or butchering.

Bone fragments belonging to the squirrel seem to be few at comparative sites as well. For example Otto found no squirrel remains at the Cannon's Point sites. The Roupelmond main house and slave settlement sites revealed no squirrel remains. Moore did, however, identify some skeletal fragments as *Scurius niger* but only at the Jones Creek slave settlement site. She found .4 grams of skeletal material contributed by squirrel with a minimum of one individual present, 0.7 percent. The biomass provided by squirrel was 140 grams, which was 0.1 percent overall (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 235). None of the other sites examined by Moore contained squirrel fragments.

It seems by examining historical accounts, squirrels were commonly consumed although not as often as rabbits. As previously mentioned the small size of squirrel bones could lead to a more rapid rate of decay. Although few squirrel skeletal remains were recovered, it is feasible to consider they were being consumed at Mont Repose, however understanding to what extent may require further research.

Testudines (Turtles)

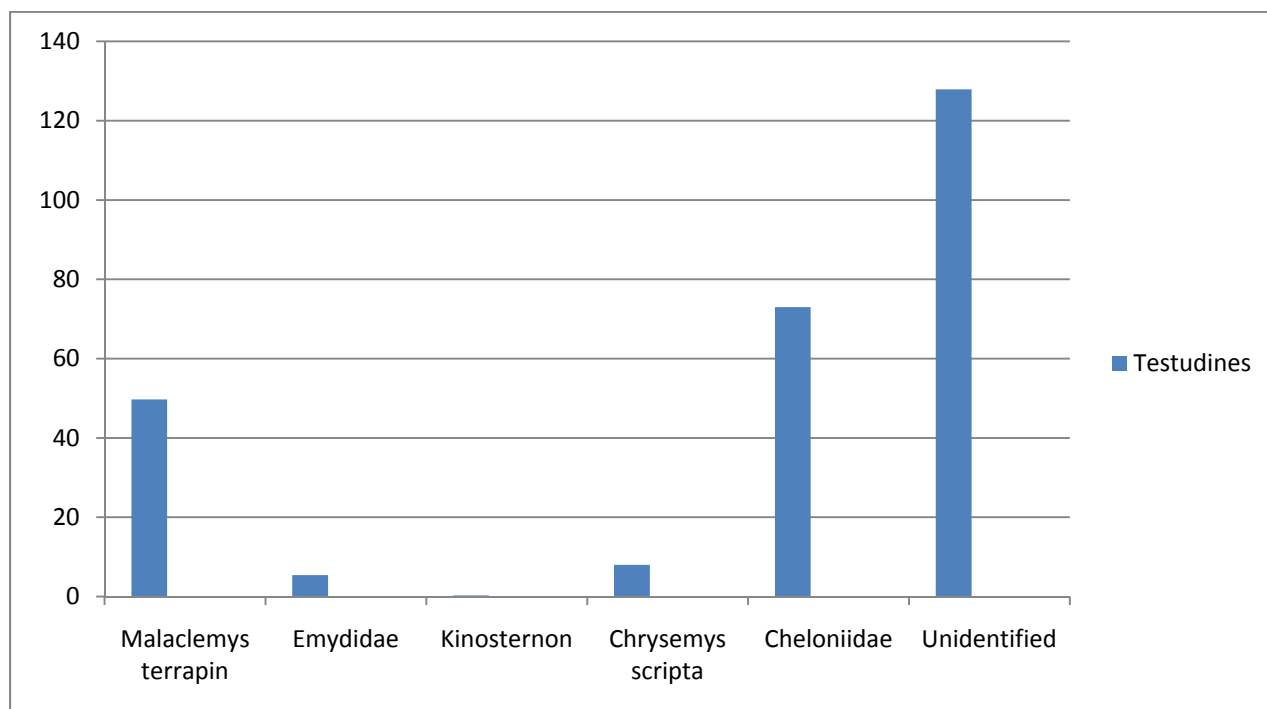
Testudines is a scientific order that includes turtles, tortoises, terrapins, and sea turtles. Turtle was a common visitor to the tables of both white planters and their slaves during the 18th and 19th centuries. The tradition of consuming turtle meat carries on today though possibly not to the same magnitude of two centuries ago. Because they could be found in most environments be it in water, near water or simply on dry land, and given their slow mobility turtles were fairly easy to exploit as a food item. Turtles could be taken by using basket traps or hook and line (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 346).

Turtle meat was often made into soups, frequently using the fins from marine species for this purpose. Leslie gives a detailed list of instructions for killing, preparing, and serving turtle. Most parts of the turtle are used, including the shell which she suggest be used as a serving dish, the liver fried in butter, and the eggs used as an ingredient in various recipes. She notes that “four fine large terrapins generally make one dish” and females are the tastiest (Leslie, 1857, pp. 124, 125, 131). The details she gives in her preparation instructions gives insight as to how valued turtles were as a food source. Some travelers wrote about the diamond-backed terrapin being commonly caught, eaten, and sold by slaves (Hilliard, 1972, p. 89). Hilliard included one description of a meal presented at the Allston plantation which included “turtle soup at each end, turtle steaks and fins...” (Hilliard, 1972, p. 54). From the Allston papers a letter written in 1860 to Robert F. W. Allston from his overseer at Nightingale Hall included a list of items being sent to him from the plantation which included “5 cooters” as turtles were commonly called (Allston & Easterby, 2004, p. 264). An 1868 letter from Mrs.

Allston to her son confirmed to him her receipt of “22 cooters” from his plantation (Allston & Easterby, 2004, p. 241).

Among the Mont Repose faunal material, a total of 185 Testudines fragments were identified, with a total weight of 589.30 grams. The minimum number of individuals present was estimated to be ten and the biomass contribution totaled 3,366 grams. Specific species identified were *Malaclemys terrapin* (diamond back), *Emydidae*, *Kinosternon* (mud turtle), *Chrysemys scripta* (slider), and *Cheloniidae* (sea turtle). Unidentified turtle fragments totaled 93 and weighed 127.90 grams. None of the turtle fragments exhibited butcher marks however 13 were burned. The 19.7 grams of fragments that were burned included 11 carapace fragments from unit N808 E804, Level 2, Zone D and two plastron fragments from unit N808 E804, Level 2, Zone D leading one to conclude the burning could have occurred after being deposited in that location. Turtle bone fragments were recovered from units N808 E798, N808 E800, N808 E802, N810 E800 from Level 2 Zone D and Level 3 Zones A, B, C, and D. Table 8 represents the species recovered from the Mont Repose assemblage by gram weight.

Table 8. Testudines species present by gram weight.



The most numerous identifiable fragments came from the species *Cheloniidae* which is commonly referred to as sea turtle. Given the large size of these turtles, it is possible that only one individual is present for this species. Inhabitants of Mont Repose would have had access to these types of turtles. The next largest group present is the *Malaclemys terrapin*, perhaps considered to be more commonly found on southern tables. A total of four plastron portions weighing 48.0 grams were identified as *Malaclemys terrapin*. Otto found diamond-back terrapin fragments at all three sites excavated at Cannon's Point (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 346). In fact the diamond-back was so popular that by the early twentieth century it was close to extinction, prompting legislators to provide them with a protective act to prevent their extinction (Hacker, 1999, p. 151). The *Chrysemys scripta* contributed one xiphiplastron and five carpace fragments which weighed 25.3 grams combined. *Emydidae* contributed three carapace and one plastron

fragments weighing 5.4 grams. The small mud turtle, *Kinosternon* contributed only one right xiphiplastron fragment weighing 0.3 grams.

Among the faunal material at the Roupelmond slave settlement, 39 turtle bone fragments were identified. These fragments were not identified to species but did contribute 1,370 grams of meat according to biomass calculations. No turtle remains were found at the main house site at Roupelmond (Hacker, 1999, p. 153). Turtles were so common at the Cannon's Point sites that among the Couper's kitchen site they comprised 25 percent of the total bone weight. That 25 percent was made up of a total 861.1 grams of turtle bone fragments, 326.5 of which was unidentifiable by species. The diamond-back terrapin contributed the most with 918 fragments weighing 410.8 grams and a minimum of 14 individuals present. Other identifiable species included the snapping turtle, mud turtle, pond turtle, soft-shell turtle and sea turtle (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 315, 316, 335). When compared to the kitchen site, turtle occurred at a much lower frequency at the slave cabin site with only two identifiable species present, the diamond-back terrapin and soft-shell turtle. A total of 100.90 grams of turtle bone fragments were recovered from the slave cabin site with 41.70 grams of that being unidentifiable to species. At Cannon's Point, the faunal material demonstrated a much larger use of turtle at the planter's kitchen site with more diversity among turtle species (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 311, 312, 318).

The Pike's Bluff site revealed some reliance on turtles for food with a total of 291.10 grams of turtle bone fragments recovered. Species present included the gopher tortoise, diamond-back terrapin, box turtle, and the chicken turtle all contributing to a total meat

contribution of 6,750 grams. The diamond-back terrapin had the largest presence with a total bone weight of 118.0 grams and five of the total 13 individuals present. The Sinclair kitchen site contained a total of 241.30 grams of turtle faunal material with 28 individuals present. These remains would have contributed 12,400 grams of meat, 17.3 percent overall from the Sinclair kitchen site. Species present included the gopher tortoise, soft shell-turtle, snapping turtle, chicken turtle, mud turtle, and diamond-back terrapin with the most bone weight coming from the chicken turtle with 50.10 grams of bone fragments. Most of these turtle species can be found either on land or in or near the marsh and ponds. The Sinclair slave house site contained only one identifiable turtle species, the diamond-back terrapin with a total bone weight of 2.7 grams, one individual present, and a biomass contribution of 300 grams. The unidentified turtle bone fragments offered 14.90 grams with a biomass contribution of 1,060 grams. Turtle remains found at the Sinclair main house were unidentified soft-shell and *Trionyx ferox* which combined weighed a total of 13.5 grams. The biomass contribution from these fragments was 1,210 grams. The Jones Creek slave settlement revealed several species of turtle including the chicken turtle, soft-shell turtle, diamond-back terrapin, and the slider turtle with a total gram weight of 64.40 and minimum of 13 individuals present. With a total of 13.0 grams the diamond-back contained the most turtle bone weight at the Jones Creek site. Turtles from this site offered 7,610 grams of meat according to biomass calculations (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 162, 171, 174, 175, 235).

Clearly turtles were exploited at each of these sites regardless of economic status; however more diversity in turtle species can once again be seen at the planter's sites. It could

be helpful to examine the clues such variety in turtle species has to offer when attempting to determine who occupied a site.

***Osteichthyes* (Fish)**

The inhabitants of the Mont Repose coastal rice plantation had fairly easy access to fish of all kinds, especially those in the boney fish class of *Osteichthyes*. The nearby Coosawhatchie River provided a variety of fish species that could be caught and eaten by the Gillisons and their slaves. It was not uncommon for a planter to prepare a pond in order to raise fish for plantation consumption, adding another fishing source. Some of the most common fish exploited by South Carolina low country plantations were grouper, drum, catfish, bass, red snapper, sheepshead, and trout (Hilliard, 1972, pp. 48, 85, 87). Offering a change in diet, the most favored method of preparing fish was frying. Boiling was also a popular method for cooking fish. In fact Leslie states in her recipe book that “in every kitchen should be a large oval kettle purposely for boiling fish” (Leslie, 1857, p. 78). When an over abundance of fish was obtained, it could also be cured and preserved for later use.

Among the *Osteichthyes* faunal remains found at Mont Repose were 944 large and small scales weighing 174.90 grams. The collection includes 408 fish bone fragments with a total gram weight of 198.40. Excluding the scales, 126 bone fragments were whole and had not been fragmented. Only three vertebra exhibited signs of having been burned and two of these were found in unit N808 E802 Level 2 Zone D, the other was recovered from unit N808 E800 Level 3 Zone D. None of the fish bones displayed butcher marks. The fish remains were recovered from seven of the eight units included in this research. Unit N808 E798 did not contain any fish

remains. Within Level 2, only Zone D was represented with one exception being from N810 E798 in which Level 2 Zone B contained one fish bone fragment. From Level 3 fish was recovered from all Zones A through D.

Only two species, *Caranx hippos* (crevalle jack fish) and *Ictalurus punctatus* (catfish), were specifically identified among the fish remains at Mont Repose. Only two pterygiophores were identified as belonging to the crevalle jack fish, weighing 3.5 grams. The catfish remains included 6 pectoral spines and one dorsal spine, totaling 1.4 grams. More species likely exist within the remains but were not identifiable to species.

The majority of the fish remains fall into one of two categories “Large fish” and “Small fish.” The Large fish category was comprised of 36 scales weighing 8.7 grams and 36 bone fragments weighing 81.2 grams. Some of these remains most likely belong to the *Caranx hippos*, or jack fish, which can reach an average of 70 pounds. Given the close proximity of its habitat to Mont Repose, another likely source of these large fish bones is likely to be the drum fish which averages 30 pounds but can reach upwards of 100 pounds (Wikipedia, 2010). In his memoir about hunting and fishing in South Carolina, Elliott writes of fishing excursions that included the capture of drum, sheepshead, and bass. The drum fish he explains can be taken in great numbers when they arrive at the coast of South Carolina in April, making a recognizable drumming sound, for the purpose of depositing their eggs. He asserts the drum “is the largest scale fish in America” and “measures ordinarily three feet in length, and weighs from thirty to forty pounds” (Elliott, 1867, p. 111). During drum fishing season he claims to have caught as many as 20 in one day, several weighing as much as 70 pounds. Elliott confirms the smaller

drum fish are the best suited for table use while “the larger are only valuable when salted and cured like cod-fish” (Elliott, 1867, p. 112). In fact the planters of the area are typically excellent fishermen, keeping the smaller, tastier drum for their own consumption while salting and distributing the remaining larger fish among their slaves in addition to their normal rations (Elliott, 1867, pp. 111-112). One can appreciate how much meat is provided by even one large drum fish, with an exceptional amount accumulated from multiple individuals.

The smaller fish remains could be from catfish (averages 2-4 pounds), bass (about 10 pounds), and sheepshead (averages 10-15 pounds) among others. The list of possible fish species present in the faunal material goes beyond those listed here, however these are some of the more commonly mentioned fish for the low country South Carolina area. Bone fragments placed in the “small fish” category totaled 78 and totaled 7.0 grams. Scales belonging to small fish reached a total count of 325 and weighed 1.82 grams. Catfish were commonly caught especially on plantations further inland. Simply put, “they were found in all major rivers, were easy to catch, and many were large enough to feed an entire family” making them a valuable commodity to the fishermen (Hilliard, 1972, p. 48). Elliott writes of bass fishing with much delight and offers the best time of year for taking bass is in October, presenting a change from the drum which is taken in April. The bass fish can most typically be found in fresh water rivers (Elliott, 1867, pp. 117-118). As for sheepshead fish, Elliott writes of having the most success in catching them in January and February. He praises their excellent taste and cautions that this fish must be eaten fresh (Elliott, 1867, pp. 131-132). It should be considered that some small fish remains from the Mont Repose site may have been lost due to screen size however,

precautions, such as adjusting to the smaller screen size of 1/16, were taken to recover and preserve as much as possible.

The faunal assemblage at the Roupelmond plantation revealed only two identifiable species of fish, the drum and tarpon. Both were recovered from the slave settlement. The tarpon had the largest presence with 700 identifiable fragments which weighed 0.14 grams and belonged to a minimum of one individual. At least 305 grams of meat was obtained from these tarpon bone fragments. Only one fragment was identified as the drum fish species. There were also two unidentified fish bones (Hacker, 1999, p. 153).

Otto found at the Cannon's Point sites fish were an important feature of the slave's diet. It is known that slaves would often add variety to their monotonous diet by fishing and hunting. Fish species found at the slave cabin site included gar, catfish, sheepshead, sturgeon, perch, trout, kingfish, croaker, red and black drum, mullet, and flounder for a total gram weight of 211.7 and minimum number of 42 individuals present. The black drum and marine catfish had the heaviest gram weight present. Otto discovered a reference made to the slaves at Cannon's Point receiving salt fish occasionally but notes it did not seem to be the norm. The planter's kitchen site had the same fish species as the slave cabin site with the addition of the crevalle jack and a minimum number of 93 individuals present. The fish remains from the planter's kitchen totaled 481.1 grams. The heaviest concentration lies with sheepshead, catfish, and drum. Fish made up the majority of individuals present at both the slave cabin site (63 percent) and the planter's kitchen site with 61 percent (Otto J. S., 1975, pp. 291, 307, 311-318, 335).

The Pike's Bluff site contained several different species of fish including crevalle jack fish, sheepshead, drum, and three catfish species. The species represented by the most weight was the crevalle jack fish which totaled 4.1 grams of identifiable remains. A total of 3,740 grams of meat was contributed by the fish remains which weighed 38.5 grams overall from the Pike's Bluff site. The Sinclair kitchen site also revealed several species of fish which weighed a total of 288.50 grams and contributed 11,170 grams of meat according to biomass calculations. Fish species present included red and black drum, sheepshead, catfish, flounder, and gar. The sheepshead and black drum carried the majority of the weight. The Sinclair slave dwelling site contained faunal remains from drum, sheepshead, catfish, and gar weighing a total of 12.50 grams and contributing 2,300 grams of meat. The most concentrated species present was the sheepshead which weighed a total of 4.7 grams. The only identifiable fish species found at the Sinclair main house was the catfish. A total of 1.30 grams of fish remains were found at the main house site which contributed 330 grams of meat. The Jones Creek settlement site revealed several species of fish in the faunal assemblage with a heavy concentration of catfish. Other species present included gar, trout, sheepshead, crevalle jack, and black and red drum. The multiple fish species at Jones Creek totaled 128.20 grams of bone fragments which would have contributed 12,890 grams of meat (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 120, 172, 174, 175, 236).

It is apparent by the faunal remains found at each of these sites that fish were a consistent form of food supply for the occupants of these coastal plantations. Whether the planter was fishing for sport or employing a slave with the task, many different fish species were exploited along the coastal and brackish waters. If there was a surplus of fish, it was sometimes given to slaves fresh or cured for later use. Slaves were also given the offal (entrails

and inner organs) from fish on occasion as noted by Fanny Kemble during her visit to a coastal plantation (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 228). Fish made a significant contribution to the diet at Mont Repose and was most likely a welcomed change in a sometimes monotonous meal.

***Alligator mississippiensis* (Alligator)**

While alligator may not have been a frequent occupant of the dinner table during the 18th and 19th centuries, it did sometimes make an appearance. Perhaps considered a delicacy only to be offered once in a great while, it is not uncommon to find alligator remains within various plantation sites. Alligators have been recently spotted at the Mont Repose plantation site, confirming at least their present availability to the area.

The Mont Repose faunal assemblage revealed a total of 60 bone fragments belonging to *Alligator mississippiensis* which weighed 141.10 grams. A minimum of one individual was determined. Biomass calculations could not be estimated as there is no formula for alligator. At least eight dermal scutes were among the identifiable alligator remains. Only two fragments displayed evidence of burning and none contained butchering marks. Alligator fragments were found within units N806 E802, N808 E800, N808 E802, N810 E798, N810 E800 in Levels 2 and 3 and within Zones A, B, C, and D.

No alligator remains were identified at either of the Roupelmond sites. At the Pike's Bluff site, however, 1.8 grams of alligator remains were recovered with a minimum of one individual present. The Jones Creek site also contained bone fragments weighing 1.5 grams which belonged to at least two alligators (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 119, 235). At Cannon's Point, Otto identified five bone fragments which belonged to at least three alligators and weighed a

total of 23.80 grams overall (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 315). No alligator fragments were identified from the Cannon's Point slave cabin faunal assemblage.

It was not unheard of for people to consume alligator meat on occasion though it is not thought to be common especially considering the dangers that assist one in charge of obtaining the reptile. Robert Mallard, the son of a slave owning rice planter from Liberty County, Georgia describes such a task:

"... a long, lithe, slender pole is cut, its larger end furnished with a stout iron hook, and a negro man wading up to his waist in the water... when with a dexterous turn he fastens the hook under the alligator's foreleg... He is by main force dragged... to the land, the pole allowed to turn with his revolutions as he comes to the shore, hissing like a goose" (Mallard, 1892, pp. 27-28).

He then describes the alligator's head being taken off with an ax, thus completing the dangerous feat. Because alligator remains have been recovered from other coastal plantation sites along with the sizable portions of meat an adult could provide, it is possible that these alligators were consumed as a treat or simply as an alternative to the more ordinary beef or pork.

Snake

A total of five snake vertebrae were recovered from Mont Repose from five different units. The vertebrae which weighed 0.80 grams were excavated from units N808 E800, N808 E802, N808 E804, and N810 E800 and were found in Levels 2 and 3, Zones B, C, and D. These

few snake remains would have contributed only 6 grams of meat. It is possible more snake bone fragments were deposited with these vertebrae but have deteriorated beyond visibility.

No snake remains were identified at either Roupelmond sites nor did Moore recover any identifiable snake remains from the barrier island sites she examined. From Cannon's Point, Otto identified two species of snake at the Couper's kitchen site. The black runner and rat snake were found with a total five fragments identified which weighed 0.40 grams. At least three individuals were present. Five unidentifiable snake remains weighing 0.20 grams were also recovered from the kitchen site (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 316). No snake remains were found at the Cannon's Point slave dwelling site.

While it is possible snake was being consumed, so little of it was recovered from the Mont Repose site that it remains inconclusive. Perhaps after further examination of the unsorted faunal material, more could be learned regarding the consumption of snake at Mont Repose. It is possible that it was not used at all for food and is simply a natural occurrence which caused the remains to be scattered among the five units in which they were found.

By comparing the faunal analysis made from the skeletal material recovered at the Mont Repose site with other coastal plantation sites, it is anticipated that the type of structure could be determined as well as who was occupying the structure. It seems to be found standard at most of these sites examined here that more wild species being present would indicate the planter as more likely to be consuming the meat from the remains. When less desirable cuts of meat are found, it also appears to be standard for these to originate from the slave's meals. In

order to make a more accurate conclusion other factors should be included such as plantation size, availability of resources, and perhaps most importantly other artifacts recovered.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

One of the most lingering questions regarding the structure being excavated at Mont Repose is: “What type of structure was it?” Other questions that have long been pondered regard who was occupying the structure and how the structure finally met its demise. Conclusive answers have been clouded by issues such as immense changes in the landscape from agricultural and logging use, the lack of primary documentation, and the variety of artifacts recovered. With everything from animal bones and bone artifacts to clothing items, ceramics, and a two person buck saw being recovered, the structure seems most likely to have served more than one purpose.

A wooden structure, such as a kitchen or dwelling, is a reasonable conclusion given the only brick recovered resulted from the chimney fall. Furthermore, a kitchen combined with a slave dwelling is another consideration. The deep portion currently being excavated may have been a cellar for the kitchen and/or dwelling. Why the faunal remains were recovered within the structure leads one to conclude that the site of the structure was most likely used as a trash pit once it was not longer viable as a kitchen or dwelling.

Kitchens

For a variety of reasons, it was common for plantation owners to build a kitchen structure detached from the main house. Having the kitchen separated from the main house kept the house safe from fire and also made life more comfortable for its occupants. A kitchen produced heat, noise, and odors that were not always welcomed in the home of the plantation

owner and his family. Also, by detaching the kitchen a more clear line was drawn between the servers and those whom they served. Slaves were sure to know their role as servants more clearly if they lived and worked separately from the planter's family.

Among the types of kitchen structures, two architectural patterns emerged during the 18th century. One type was comprised of only a single room with a chimney at one end. The other type consisted of two rooms with a chimney in the center. It was not uncommon for these two room structures to be used for food preparation on one side and living quarters for the slave cook and her family on the other. Sleeping quarters for the cook could also be constructed in an upstairs portion of the kitchen structure (Deetz, 2010, p. 50). Some of these structures also contained a basement compartment or cellar. Often times the laundry would be processed within the kitchen structure (Vlach, 1993, pp. 43-46; Deetz, 2010, p. 161). Kelley Deetz found in her research of 18th and 19th century Virginia kitchens that it was typical for the misses to supply the kitchen with nice furnishings, reflecting those from the main house. A spectacle could be made of kitchens when visitors were present and a certain level of sophistication was necessary (Deetz, 2010, p. 174).

By examining the chimney fall and the apparent footers in the Mont Repose block of units, the most likely layout of the structure fits the two room model. The bricks from the chimney fall are most numerous in units N808 E802, N808 E804, N806 E802, N806 E804 after which the structure appears to continue. Unfortunately the path of the structure runs into a black walnut tree which is currently blocking excavations in that direction. A large root from this tree is visible on the map represented in Figure 7 and photo in Figure 3.

Interestingly a similarly puzzling kitchen site was excavated in Kentucky by M. Jay Stottman and Jeffrey L. Watts-Roy. Excavations at the site, recognized as Riverside, focused on the detached kitchen. Researchers set out to learn who was utilizing the structure and to whom the artifacts they recovered belonged. The kitchen structure, which was historically well documented and constructed during the 1830s, contained a pit cellar that yielded almost 3,000 animal bones. Comparable to Mont Repose, one bone from a horse was recovered as well as skeletal fragments from turtle, goose, duck, rabbit, squirrel, raccoon, turkey, and fish such as drum and bass (Stottman & Watts-Roy, 2000, p. 50). While they did not conclude that all of these remains were the result of plantation diet, it is surmised that most of them were.

Stottman and Watts-Roy found many slave related artifacts as well as those that are typically related to the plantation owner. Artifacts found at the Riverside kitchen that parallel those from the Mont Repose structure include: 21 bone buttons, bone lice comb fragments, bone handle eating utensils, bottle glass, window glass, nails, pipe, marbles, metal straps, furniture hardware, a horse shoe, and metal buttons. Also sewing related items such as straight pins, thimbles, and tacks, which were associated with the work of slaves, were recovered from both sites. It was not uncommon for a structure to serve multiple purposes for various activities such as sewing, laundry, and cooking, as well as a portion being utilized as slave living quarters (Stottman & Watts-Roy, 2000, pp. 45, 95, 98).

The Riverside kitchen contained a brick lined floor, measuring approximately 3 feet square, which supported a pit cellar. Some of these bricks had been removed and reused before the pit cellar was filled around 1870. Pit cellars were typically accessed by a trap door

placed within the floor and often times a lock would be placed on the door (Stottman & Watts-Roy, 2000, pp. 69-70, 77-78). Locks were recovered from both the Riverside kitchen and from the Mont Repose structure, possibly having been related to a pit cellar. Deetz found that root and pit cellars were common in the kitchen structures she researched. She determined that faunal remains, broken dishes and bottles, etc. were typically buried in an “outdoor trash pit, which was dug on the quarter side of the kitchen... out of view of the main house” (Deetz, 2010, p. 152). It will be interesting to see if the Mont Repose structure yields a floor lined with a specific material such as brick, as the bottom of the features have yet to be discovered. The consideration of a kitchen structure with a pit cellar should be examined further as excavations proceed at Mont Repose.

The faunal assemblage from the Riverside kitchen, as well as the variety of other artifacts recovered, paved the way for researchers to brood over who used them. Like the Mont Repose assemblage, a blended history of these artifacts seems to emerge. Many artifacts allude to the slaves while just as many lead towards the planter. Because the structure at Mont Repose served a multi-purpose function, the analysis is heavily clouded as the tedious process of determining who possessed, used, or ate from the artifacts will carry into further research. Despite the fact that Riverside is in a different region and dates slightly later than Mont Repose, similarities between the sites exist and should be considered as excavations at Mont Repose continue.

Small dwellings

Another type of structure the outline of the Mont Repose units alludes to is a slave or overseer dwelling. Typically slave houses were constructed in a two room fashion with a chimney central to the formation. The slave quarters at Harrietta Plantation which the Doar family owned provided their slaves with “double houses with a chimney in the center” and constructed them a fair distance from the family’s main house (Doar, 1936, p. 31). These structures were occupied by two families, one residing on each side and “built in rows with streets in between” (Doar, 1936, p. 31). Doar acknowledges that these structures had no glazed windows but considered them to be comfortable.

On most plantations the homes of overseers were typically in close proximity to the slave dwellings. The construction of overseer homes was not much better than that of the slave cabins but may have at least had the comforts of brick or wooden floors and paned windows. The employee in the overseer’s position tended to change frequently at a rate of almost once per year. Vlach found that it was common for planters with an excess of 30 slaves to employ overseers (Vlach, 1993, pp. 135-139). The Gillison’s owned 223 slaves by 1840 and would certainly have needed the assistance of an overseer to help supervise their work.

It seems unlikely that this structure would have been designated as only a slave or overseer dwelling and not used for a different purpose initially or at least partially. The artifact assemblage at Mont Repose contains many window glass fragments. For a slave dwelling it seems to fall in close proximity to the Gillison family cemetery. Also, slave cabins would normally be placed in groups near the rice fields in which the slaves worked. If this structure

were used as a slave dwelling it was most likely after its discontinued use for some other purpose, such as a kitchen and/or laundry.

Who occupied the structure?

Upon examining the faunal assemblage it is likely that at least some of this food was prepared for the Gillison family. The presence of many wild species such as raccoon, opossum, alligator, turtle, fish, and deer indicate that most likely the planter's family would be eating the meat from these creatures. It is probable that one or more of the 200 plus slaves the family owned was preparing the food for the Gillison family. This conclusion seems to be corroborated by the findings of Otto and Moore in their research. Both concluded that in most cases more wild species would be found within a structure supporting the planter and his family and a site dominated by domestic species is typically related to slaves. Moore went further to offer that plantation size and economic status should also be taken into account.

As previously stated Otto found deer, marine turtle, and alligator at the planter's kitchen only (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 355). All of these wild species were found within the Mont Repose structure. Moore found more variances in her research as not all of the sites she excavated followed the same pattern which Otto found at Cannon's Point. For example, the Pike's Bluff faunal assemblage yielded a higher percentage of domestic species but could be attributed to having belonged to a lower class of planter. The planter who owned and occupied the Pike's Bluff site may have had much fewer slaves and no overseer, making it more difficult for him to secure wild species for the dinner table (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 320). The Jones Creek slave settlement site also deviates from the pattern Otto discovered. It contained more wild

species than would be expected for a slave site. Such a large plantation as Jones Creek most likely had slaves that were dedicated to hunting and fishing and therefore was able to supply the planter and fellow slaves with more of these species (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 320). However the Sinclair sites seem to follow Otto's findings in that the slave sites showed a heavier reliance on domestic species when compared to the sites dedicated to the planter (Moore S. M., 1981, p. 319). Both Otto and Moore point out that because slaves received rations, more domestic species are typically found in their diet (Otto J. S., 1975, p. 291; Moore S. M., 1981, p. 161).

Moore discovered that it is important to consider plantation size and the economic resources available to everyone occupying the plantation when attempting to reveal the status of the occupants of particular sites. A larger plantation with more resources and more slaves to dedicate to hunting and fishing would have been able to supply everyone on the plantation with more wild species. A smaller plantation would not have been able to do so on as large a scale (Moore S. M., 1981, pp. 320-321). With upwards of 200 slaves, it seems the Gillisons would have had enough slaves to employ at least a few as hunting and fishing specialists. Perhaps these specialists were supplying the Gillison family and slaves alike with wild species for consumption.

When considering the cuts of meat present, especially those of the lower limbs, it seems feasible slaves were consuming some portions of these animals. It is possible that a slave family was living in a portion of the structure and preparing meals for themselves as well as the planter family in the opposite half. This offers a solution as to why such an array of species and

elements were deposited in the same area. The slave cook would most likely have mixed his or her trash in with that of the main house food preparations (Deetz, 2010, p. 154).

Based on the artifacts recovered over the past several years, it seems slaves had a large presence in the structure currently being excavated at Mont Repose. In particular, bone artifacts such as a lice comb, buttons, toothbrush fragments, and fan portions can all be linked to the work of slaves (see Figures 11-15). These artifacts resulted from slaves working in this structure and possibly from them living in a portion of it. James Harper studied the bone artifacts from Mont Repose intensely and concluded that the buttons were most likely not made on site but may have been acquired as trade items. It was not uncommon for the bone button blanks to be obtained through trade then further manipulated at the plantation. Fabric would be sewn over the buttons which were then adhered to clothing. Slave production of and work with bone buttons increased in times when provisions ran low (Harper, 2009, pp. 59, 60, 62, 64).

It must be considered that after the structure ceased to exist as a usable building it was most likely used as a trash pit. With the mix of artifacts and faunal remains, it is the only plausible conclusion as to why there would be so many bones within the structure. Clearly such a large amount of remains would not have been deposited into the structure while in use as this would have attracted rodents and insects as well as unsavory odors. It was not uncommon for fallen structures to be used as trash pits during the time period.

Coming to a definitive confirmation as to who was eating from the faunal remains and who occupied the structure is made difficult given it was used as a trash pit as well as the lack

of documentary evidence. Often the slave cook's faunal remains and trash are mixed in with the planter's trash, as Deetz points out, "trash pits for the main house and kitchen are often indistinguishable" (Deetz, 2010, pp. 154-155). Remnants from all plantation occupants could have been tossed into the pile mixing planter and slave refuse alike and leaving one unable to designate from which these artifacts came.

What happened to the structure?

While excavating the kitchen structure at Mont Repose it has long been pondered as to what finally resulted in the demise of the building. The structure was obviously home to much activity at some point during occupation of the plantation. The skeletal remains of many animals found their final resting place within the parameters of this structure as did many other artifacts reflecting life on the massive rice producing tract of land.

One of the best explanations for the question regarding what finally happened to this structure most likely involves some sort natural disaster. A green case bottle of considerable size (Figure 10) which had been crushed in place was recovered from unit N808 E802, a unit also heavily concentration with faunal remains. The large case bottle was cross-mended almost to its entirety, a spectacle not often seen from archaeological excavations. The sight of this bottle crushed in place indicates that it must have been situated within the structure as the walls of it collapsed, pounding the glass bottle into fragments.

Several destructive hurricanes are referenced during the early 1800s for the South Carolina coast. In fact at least 12 major hurricanes ravaged the South Carolina lowcountry between 1800 and 1824. David Doar writes of "the heaviest and most destructive gale that the

rice country has ever experienced... was in 1822, for it not only destroyed most if not all of the crops but a great many negro lives were lost" (Doar, 1936, p. 22). A hurricane of this magnitude could certainly have crushed buildings, especially those constructed of wood. Another source references the same hurricane as the "great hurricane of 1822" and indicates that upwards of a thousand lives were lost and many plantations were left devastated and ruined (Fraser Jr, 2006, p. 84). Another raging hurricane occurred during the fall of 1824 in which slave cabins collapsed and crops were washed away. This particular hurricane was noted as destroying crops and flooding the Beaufort District of South Carolina as well as tearing away bridges at Pocataligo and Tulifinny (Fraser Jr, 2006, pp. 91-92). While these were particularly devastating hurricanes, it is not certain which was responsible for the demise of the structure at Mont Repose, but does offer distinct possibilities.

Evidence of a similar puzzling situation was found at the 18th century Stobo Plantation site located near Charleston, South Carolina. Archaeologists found evidence of structures having been abandoned and later reused. Some of the commensal remains discovered within one structure in particular led researchers to conclude that reptiles such as snakes were feeding on rodents attracted to the rubble left over from the collapsed building. It was concluded that this structure was most likely destroyed by a natural disaster which involved flooding such as a hurricane (Anthony, Linder, & Zierden, 1999, pp. 306-307).

The faunal assemblage from the 16 unit block at Mont Repose offers many clues as to who was eating from the remains. The variety of species and elements makes it appear that these remains did not contribute solely to the planter's family diet but also to that of the slaves.

Personal items recovered give clues as to who was using the structure. For example, the broach, shell and glass beads, toothbrush fragments, tobacco pipes, and clothing tassels, as well as the silver, brass, and bone buttons all lend traces of the previous plantation occupant's possessions and habits. Other artifacts such as the glass bottle crushed in place offer details as to downfall of the structure. A helpful tool for a more definitive conclusion as to who was utilizing the structure would be the analysis of other artifacts such as the ceramics and glass. Some ceramics such as porcelain and gold rimmed saucers reveal an upper class connection. The complexity of the artifacts recovered from these units has offered a puzzling situation and one which requires further research for more conclusive results.

Perhaps as more information emerges about the lifestyles of slaves in the coastal South Carolina region, in particular those associated with the Gillison family, more definitive conclusions can be made regarding the structure. Locating the slave cabins would be tremendously helpful as comparing faunal material from slave dwellings with that of the structure currently being excavated would guide the way for more accurate conclusions.

It is apparent that this structure supported many individuals on the Mont Repose plantation. Examining the faunal material they left behind gives insight as to what types of animals were being exploited and which portions were being consumed. Butcher marks likely left by the hands of a Gillison slave 200 years ago reveal traces of the manner in which these animals were disarticulated. The skeletal remains also allude to a life with at least some luxuries given the amount of wild species, especially those that take time to acquire such as deer,

alligator, and fish. These farmers and slaves of the 18th and 19th centuries followed methods of obtaining, preparing, and consuming meat that can still be seen today.

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Appendix A

Figures and Artifact Photographs

Figure 1. Location of Coosawhatchie, South Carolina.

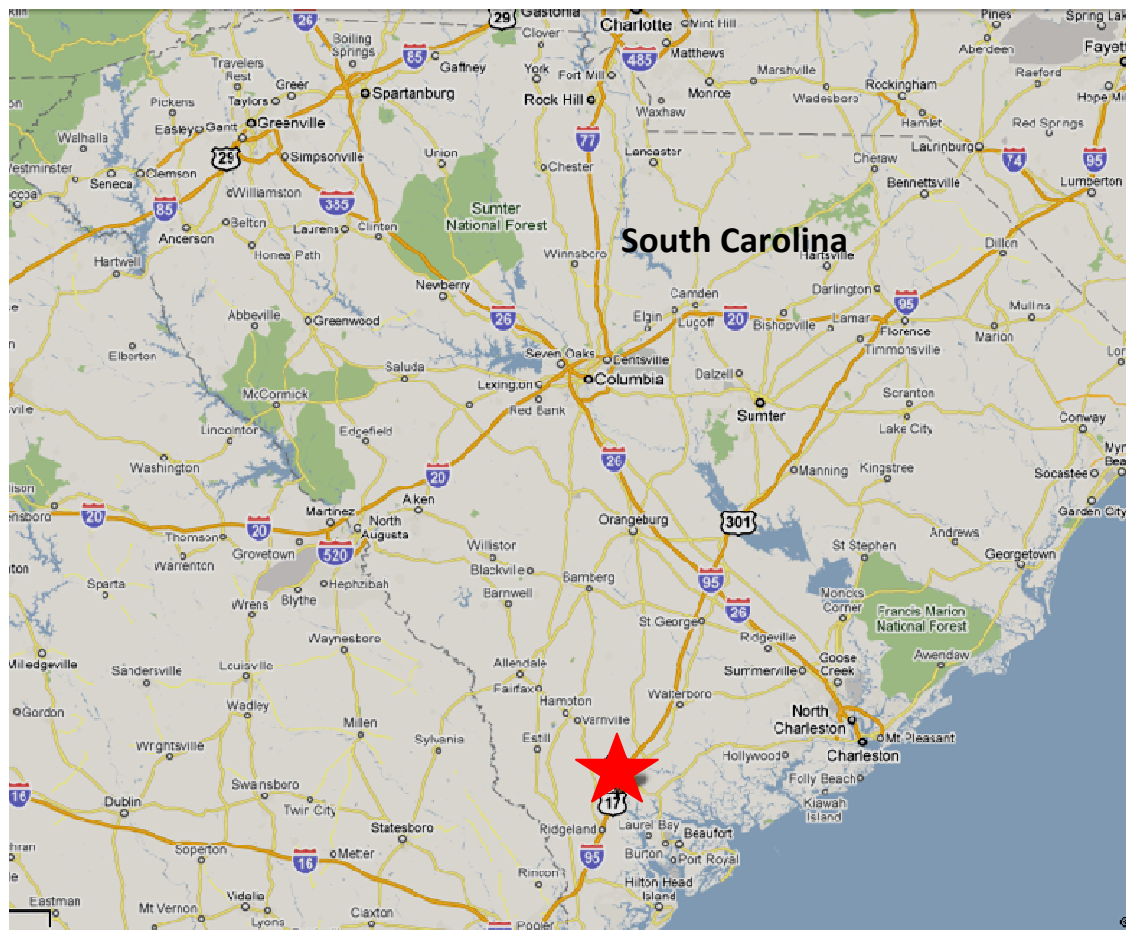


Figure 2. Genealogy of the Gillison Family.

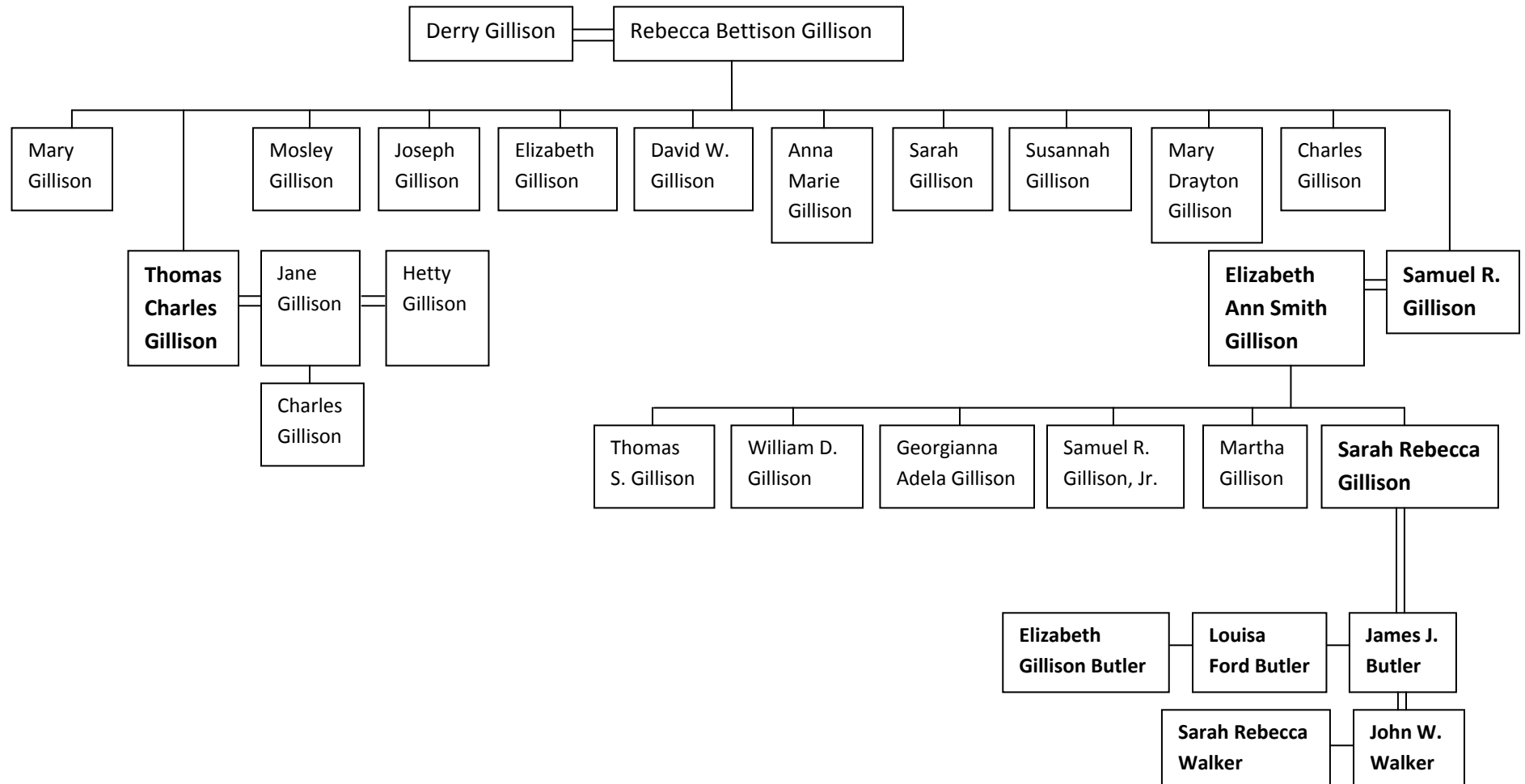


Figure 3. Photograph depicting the eastern side of units.



Figure 4. Photograph depicting the western side of units. Clay features are circled.



Figure 5. Photograph of units, grid highlights those used in analysis.

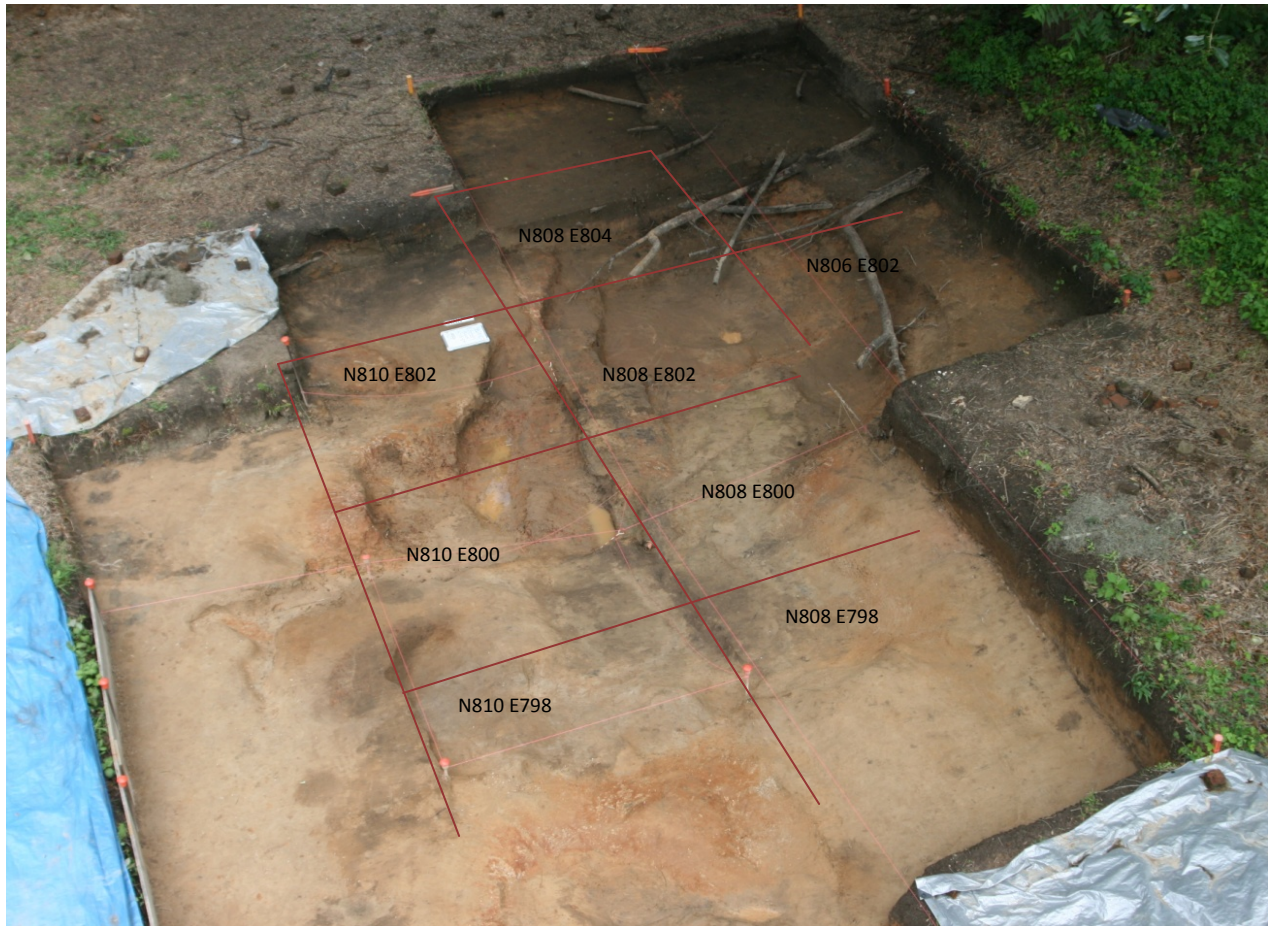


Figure 6. Layout of Units

Gray shaded units indicate those used in this analysis.

Stars indicate those containing heaviest concentration of faunal material.

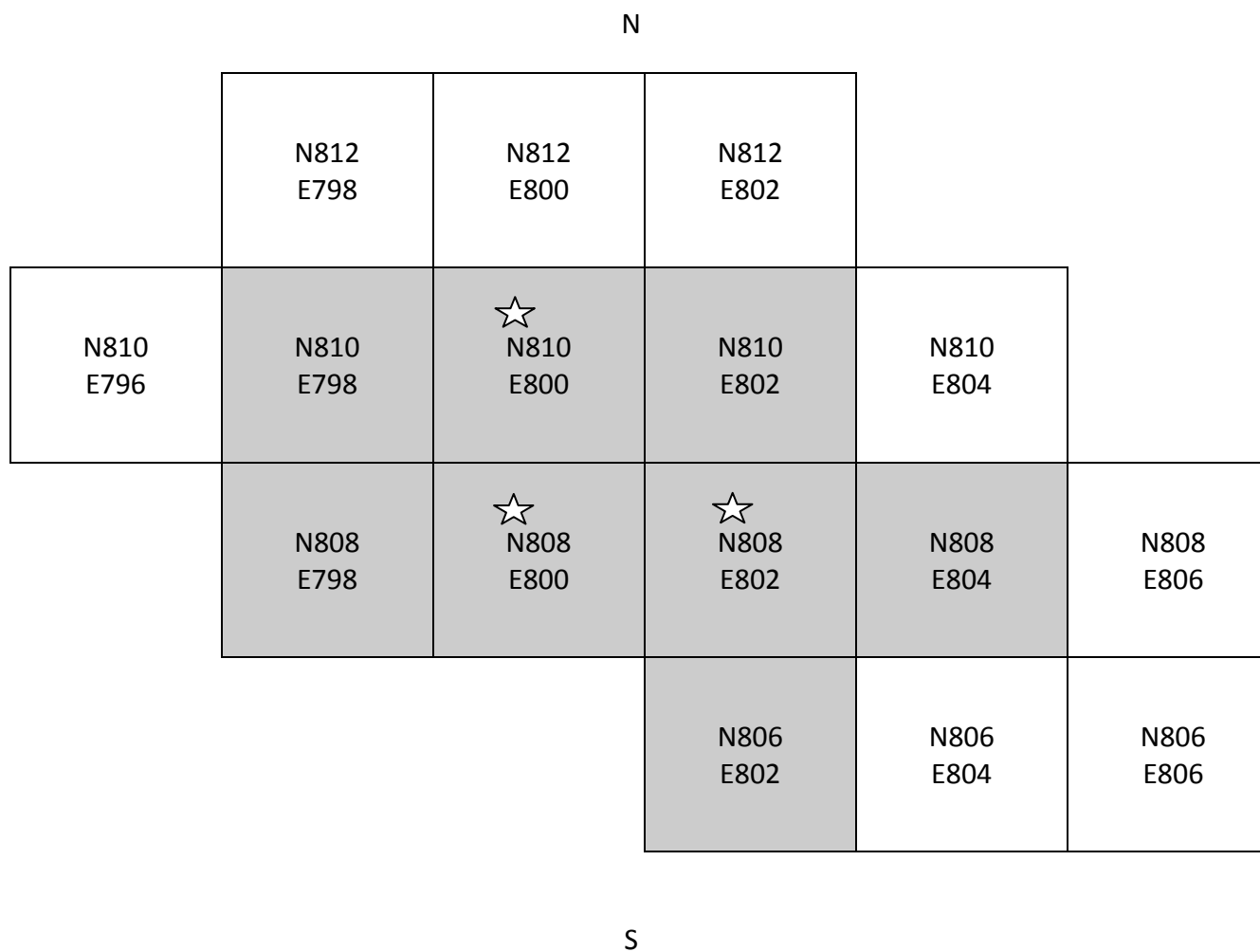


Figure 7. Shaded distribution of bone by gram weight (darkest areas being most heavily concentrated).

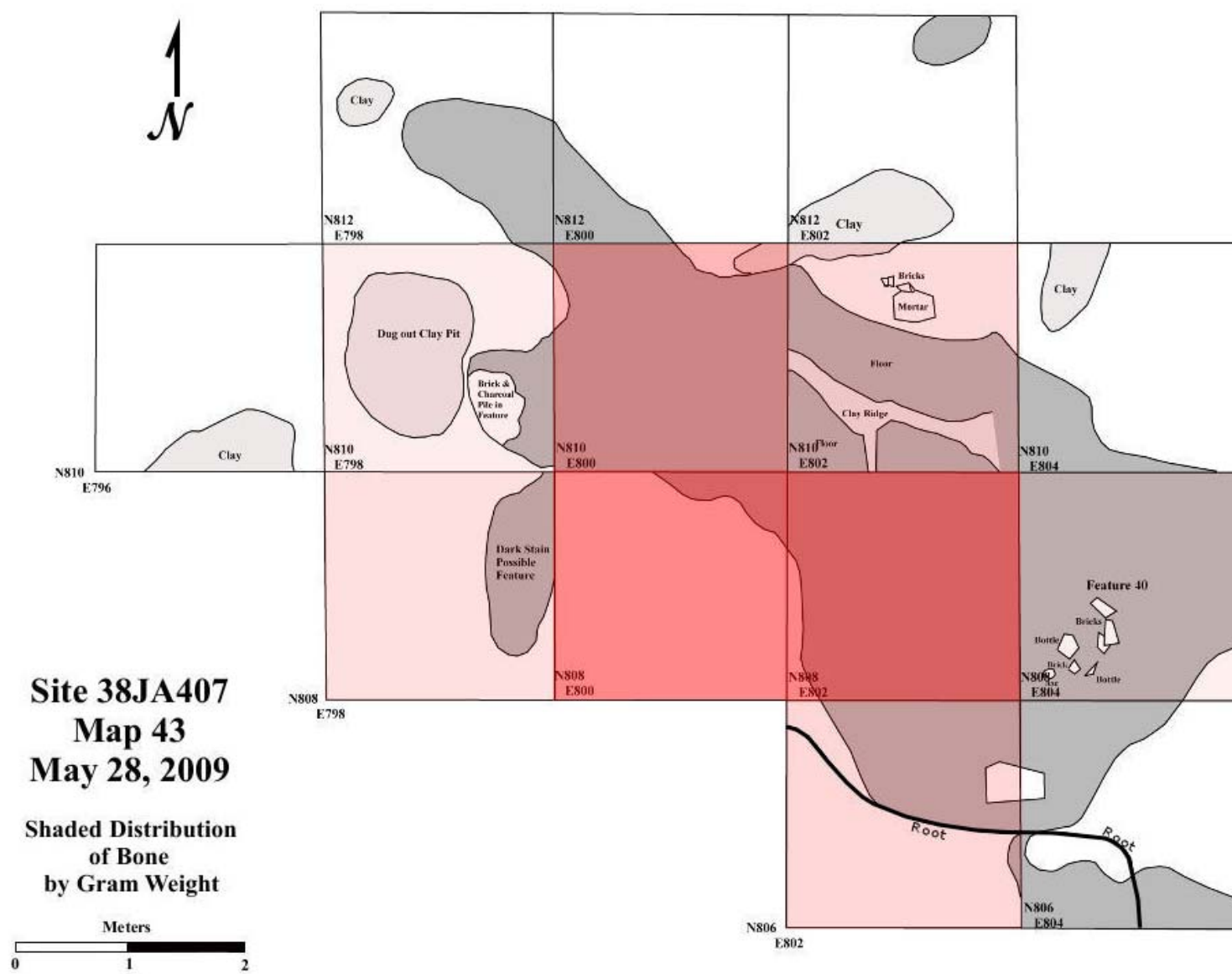


Figure 8. Mid-19th century view of cow butcher pattern (Leslie, 1857 p. xxix).

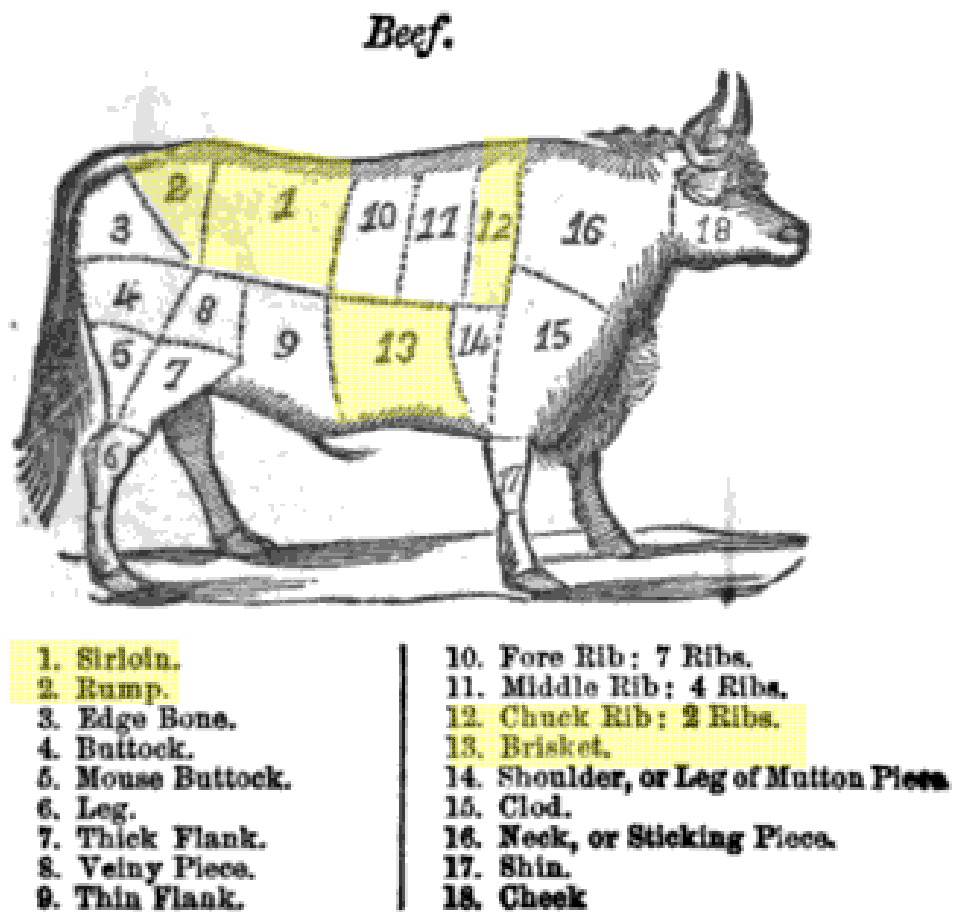


Figure 9. Mid-19th century view of pig butcher pattern (Leslie, 1857 p. xxx).

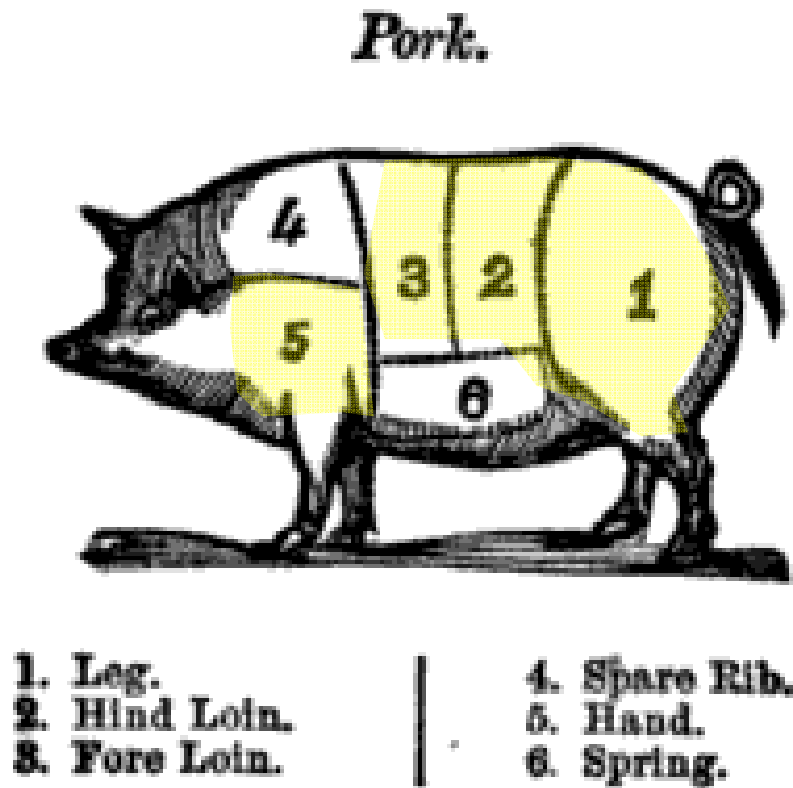


Figure 10. Green Demijohn recovered from N808 E802.



Figure 11: Bone Artifact – Toothbrush fragments.



Figure 12: Bone Artifact – Buttons.



Figure 13: Bone Artifact – Lice Comb.



Figure 14: Bone Artifact – Knife with bone handle recovered from N810 E800.



Figure 15: Bone Artifact – Fork with bone handle recovered from N808 E804.



Figure 16: *Bos taurus* scapula fragment recovered from N808 E802.



Figure 17: *Bos taurus* metapodial fragments recovered from N808 E802.



Figure 18: *Sus scrofa* maxilla fragment recovered from N808 E802.



Figure 19: *Equus caballus* tooth recovered from N808 E802.



Figure 20: *Odocoileus virginianus* metapodial fragment recovered from N808 E802.



Figure 21: Aves furculum fragment recovered from N808 E802.



Figure 22: Testudines plastron fragment recovered from N808 E802.



Figure 23: *Alligator mississippiensis* dermal scute recovered from N808 E802.



Table 9. Comparison of faunal remains by gram weight: Mont Repose, Cannon's Point, and Roupelmond sites.

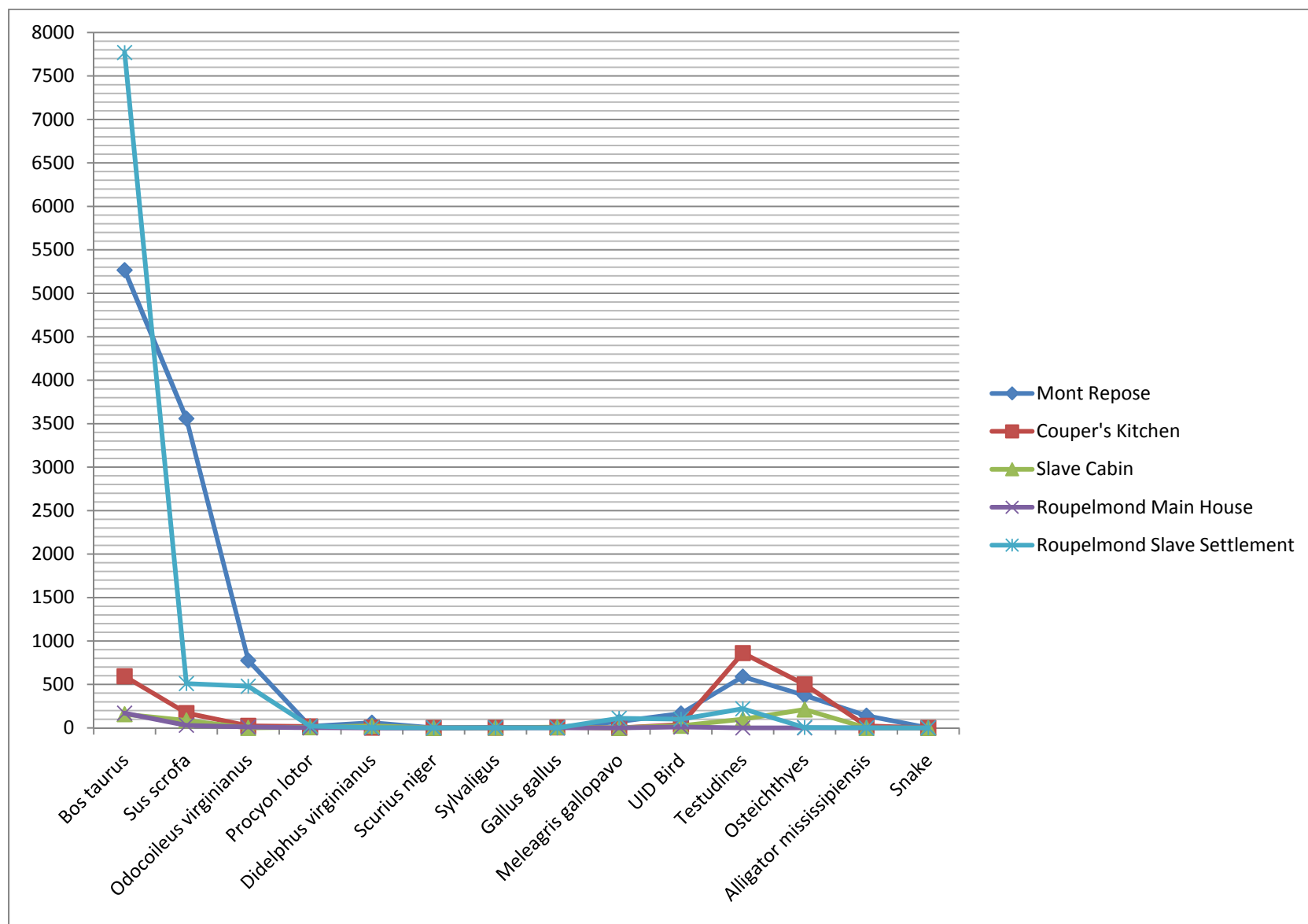


Table 10: Comparison of faunal remains by gram weight: Mont Repose, Pike's Bluff, Sinclair Kitchen, Sinclair Slave House, Sinclair Main House, and Jones Creek Slave Settlement sites.

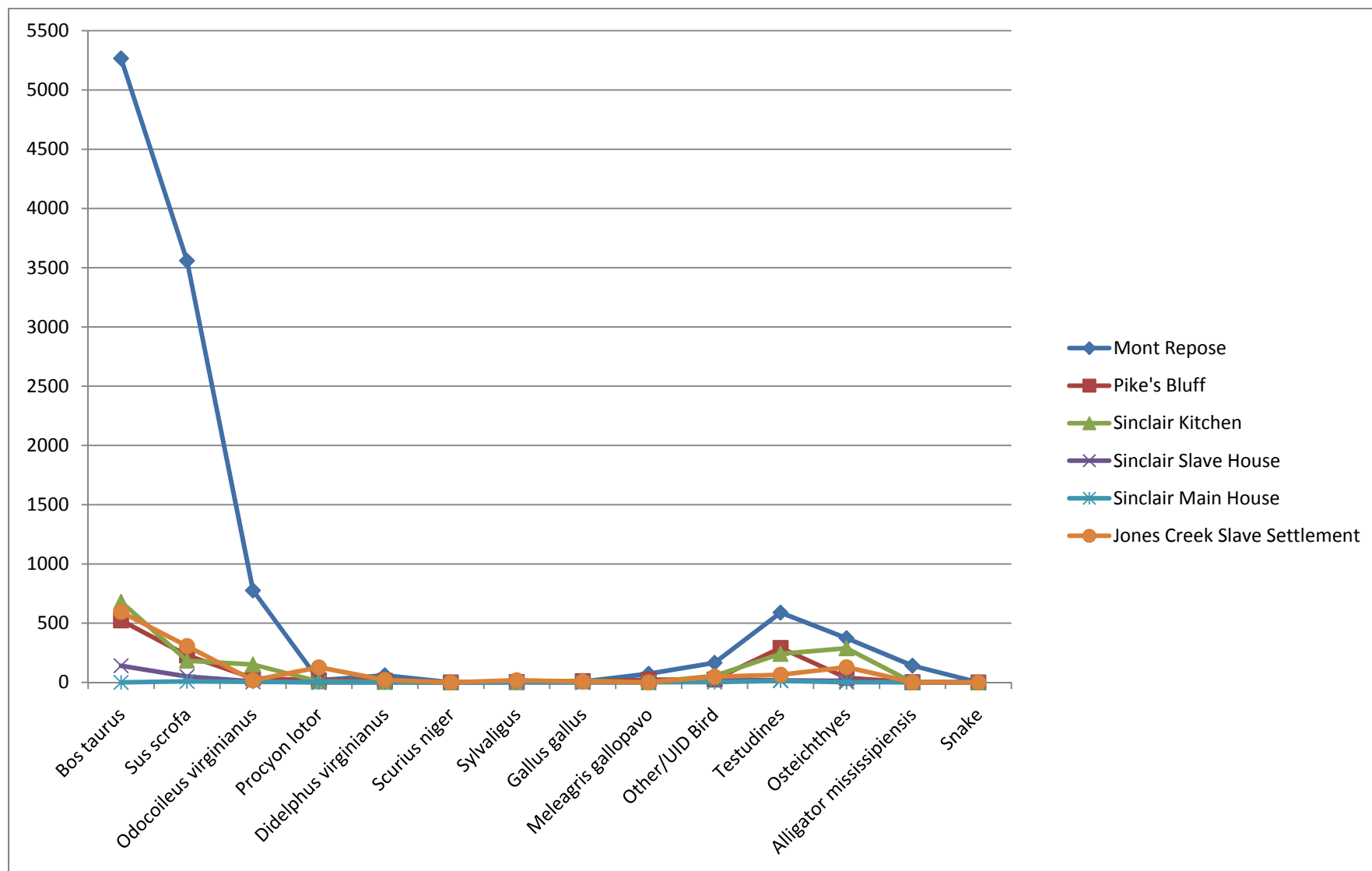


Table 11. Faunal data from Mont Repose.

Species	Count	Weight (gr)	%	MNI	%	Biomass (gr)	%
Mammal, Large	964	1,800.25	12.16	2	2.98	22,377.0	13.13
Mammal, Medium	190	144.00	0.97	2	2.98	2,304.0	1.35
Mammal, Small	96	28.60	0.19	2	2.98	538.0	0.32
Mammal, unidentified	4,857	1,641.30	11.08	-	-	20,591.0	12.08
<i>Bos taurus</i>	313	5,266.66	35.56	7	10.45	58,800.0	34.51
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	1,038	3,558.82	24.03	6	8.96	41,320.0	24.25
<i>Equus caballus</i>	2	71.0	0.48	1	1.49	1,220.0	0.72
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	143	776.05	5.24	3	4.48	10,493.0	6.16
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	39	18.00	0.12	2	2.98	355.0	0.21
<i>Didelphus virginianus</i>	58	59.60	0.40	2	2.98	1,042.0	0.61
<i>Scurius niger</i>	2	0.10	0.01	1	1.49	3.0	0.0017
<i>Sylvaligus floridanus</i>	11	4.70	0.03	1	1.49	106.0	0.06
Total Mammal	7,713	13,369.08	90.27	29	43.26	159,150.0	93.40
Aves, unidentified	61	21.10	0.14	2	2.98	327.0	0.19
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	16	6.40	0.04	1	1.49	111.0	0.07
<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	108	72.44	0.49	2	2.98	1,006.0	0.59
Aves, Small	656	106.80	0.72	3	4.48	1,432.0	0.84
Aves, Medium	63	26.20	0.18	3	4.48	399.0	0.23
Aves, Large	18	11.60	0.08	2	2.98	190.0	0.11
Total Aves	922	244.54	1.65	13	19.39	3,465.0	2.03
Testudines, unidentified	93	127.90	0.86	3	4.48	816.0	0.48
<i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	6	49.70	0.34	2	2.98	433.0	0.25
<i>Emydidae</i>	4	5.40	0.04	1	1.49	98.0	0.06
<i>Kinosternon</i>	1	0.30	0.002	1	1.49	14.0	0.01
<i>Chrysemys scripta</i>	8	34.30	0.23	2	2.98	338.0	0.198
<i>Cheloniidae</i>	73	371.70	2.51	1	1.49	1,667.0	0.978

Total Testudines	185	589.30	3.98	10	14.91	3,366.0	1.98
Osteichthyes, unidentified	94	151.20	1.02	3	4.48	1,720.0	1.01
<i>Caranx hippos</i>	4	4.90	0.03	2	2.98	158.0	0.09
<i>Ictalurus punctatus</i>	42	5.70	0.04	2	2.98	104.0	0.06
Fish, Small	521	19.22	0.13	4	5.97	323.0	0.19
Fish, Large	691	192.30	1.30	2	2.98	2,089.0	1.23
Total Osteichthyes	1,352	373.32	2.52	13	19.39	4,394.0	2.58
<i>Alligator mississippiensis</i>	60	141.10	0.95	1	1.49	*N/A	-
Snake	5	0.80	0.01	1	1.49	11.0	0.006
Total Reptilian	65	141.90	0.96	2	2.98	11.0	0.006
Unidentified	118	91.80	0.62	-	-	-	-
Total - All Faunal Remains	10,355	14,809.94	100	67	99.30	170,386.0	100

*Currently no biomass formula is available for *Alligator mississippiensis*.